THE MOSLEM WORLD

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THE CROSS ABOVE THE CRESCENT [1]

Dr. Zwemer's prolific pen has produced another volume on "the validity, necessity and urgency of missions to Moslems," bearing the title "The Cross above the Crescent." The book, as its sub-title indicates, has a double purpose. It seeks to present a justification of Christian missions to Mohammedans and it presses on Christians the appeal to support and enlarge these missions.

Its justification of Christian missions to Mohammedans rests on its estimate of Christianity and of Islam. It does not equate them nor does it seek any synthesis or syncretism. Dr. Zwemer maintains that all the good that is to be found in Mohammedanism is in Christianity in a purer form and in a fuller measure and that true Christianity is free from the evils which mar Islam. He makes his comparison on level ground—Mohammed with Christ, the Koran with the Bible, spirit with spirit and fruitage with fruitage. He disclaims the harsh and polemic temper but he is wholly unabashed in maintaining the uniqueness, finality, sufficiency and supremacy of the Christ of the New Testament. He is not seeking a concilium or adjustment of Christianity and Islam or a partnership of any sort of Christ with Mohammed. He believes, in spite of some present-day criticism, in the "Only Name" view of the New Testament, and the mission of the Christian Church to proclaim the solitary supremacy of Christ and

[1] *The Cross above the Crescent: The Validity, Necessity and Urgency of Missions to Moslems.* By Samuel Marinus Zwemer. Introduction by President John A. Mackay. Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. pp. 292. 15 illustrations. $2.

the entire sufficiency of His salvation. This is not to deny any truth or goodness to be found anywhere. Christianity discerns and joyfully recognizes all such truth and goodness. Indeed it is only its insight and charity that discovers and salvages it, because all such truth and goodness is integral to Christ's Gospel and can only be perfectly fulfilled in and by it.

Dr. Zwemer's conception of the basis of the legitimacy of Christian missions to Islam carries with it a consequent conception of the right principle and method of such missions. He would rejoice, as he does, in the permeation of Islam by the Christian spirit and Christian ideals. He describes the changes of this nature which are so deeply affecting Islam today and cites his personal acquaintance among Mohammedans who belong to the groups or who are such lonely individuals as are contemplated by the writer of the anonymous article in this issue of this Review, entitled "A Letter from the Near East." All this is to the good but Dr. Zwemer holds that it is not enough nor does it represent the full Christian purpose and obligation.

The issue which the anonymous writer so interestingly raises is no new issue at all. It is essentially, indeed almost identically, the issue of primitive Christianity in its relation to Judaism. It was not Christianity which broke with the social organization of Judaism. It was Judaism which cast out Christianity. Jesus foretold His disciples that it would be so. Judaism rejected and expelled Him. It would do the same with His disciples. The day would come, He said to them, when "they shall put you out of the synagogues: yea, the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." But He added words that have an even sharper relevance to the Moslem situation with its repudiation of the Father concept of God. "And these things will they do unto you because they have not known the Father nor me" (John 16: 2, 3). This is what happened when a Jew became a Christian. No matter how much he might have wished to remain in his old Jewish "social and political society" he could not,

because his Christianity and his Judaism could not thus be composed and his old society would not let him stay. The experience of the man born blind is an elementary beginning (John 9: 22, 34).

The same thing is inevitably true today in the case of Christianity and the non-Christian religions—Islam, Hinduism or Buddhism. The difficulty can be escaped only in one or the other of two ways—either (1) by such a radical change in the attitude of these religions as has not taken place and cannot take place while they remain themselves, or (2) by Christianity abating its significance and altering its nature and becoming just such a partial and inadequate representation of itself as is indicated in the conception of it apparently held by the writer of the article in question, namely, "the Jesus way of life." This unhappy dated phrase is not Christianity, it is an ethical fragment and fruitage of it.

Dr. Zwemer is as clear as this writer that Christianity must be presented to Moslems in love and conciliation, and it is simply not true that the men and women who are giving their lives today to missions among Moslems are erring in their lack of such conciliation and love. No doubt our approach is imperfect and our best effort marred. But it is a plain historical error to think that given the right approach, the approach of perfect love, the favorable response is sure, that the human heart leaps at once to embrace the Truth, that the chief hindrance anywhere in the world, now or heretofore, is in the approacher rather than the approached. Even Phillips Brooks made this error in his sermon, "Disciples and Apostles": "It was as when the Apostles went out and cried up and down Judea, 'The Messiah has come', and Judea understood itself. It was as when Paul stood on Mars Hill and cried, 'Whom you ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you'; and the altar to the unknown God burst for the first time into the bright blaze of an intelligent sacrifice. And that is what the Christian religion, fulfilling its missionary duty, has to do for all the world. It is the great interpreter of the

religious heart of man. Its manifested God speaks, and the divine voices throughout all the world become intelligible. Its message is declared, and countless oracles, that were all blind, win a clear meaning. Its sacrifice is held up, and the heathen altar drops its veil of superstition and discerns its own long-lost intention. Its Son of Man goes with His gracious footsteps through the hosts of heathen barbarians, and their sonship to God leaps into consciousness and life."

This is the noble view which we all want to believe. But did Judea understand itself when it saw Christ? Did the altar on Mars Hill blaze after Paul with the fire of an intelligent sacrifice, the sacrifice of the broken heart made new? Among the hosts of the non-Christian peoples, does their sonship to God leap into consciousness and life and obedience at the sound of the Gospel? Did it when Dr. Cuthbert Hall preached to them with as conciliatory and winning a voice as it is possible for the Gospel to use, and when Phillips Brooks talked with Keshub Chunder Sen? Is it, after all, not a simple question of facts? Judaism prepared the way for Christianity, but it did not prepare the Jews for either Christianity or Christ. He came unto His own and His own received Him not. Phillips Brooks preached to men the Lord Christ's fulfillment of the hopes and longings of their hearts, and here and there a man answered and was made complete in Christ, but the great mass of those who heard him were only as those who had listened to a pleasant song. There was a time when Dr. Barrows also held this view. "'The glory of Christianity,' said Professor Jowett" (wrote Dr. Barrows in the full flush of enthusiasm over his Parliament of Religions) "'is not to be as unlike other religions as possible, but to be their perfection and fullfillment.' As Judaism and Christianity were reconciled in the Epistle to the Hebrews, so Buddhism and Christianity, Confucianism and Christianity, Islam and Christianity, are yet to be reconciled by some supreme minds, who will show to India, China, Japan, Arabia, that in Christ all that is

good and true in their faiths has been embodied and completed by a special revelation." (*The Forum,* September, 1894, art. by J. H. Barrows, "Results of the Parliament of Religions," p. 62). Well, those supreme minds will have to do their proposed work more effectively than the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews did his. So Judaism and Christianity were reconciled in that Epistle? Where, then, did the Judaism we have known ever since come from, the million of Jews in New York City who are unreconciled to Christianity? The Epistle demonstrated the superiority and fulfilling glory of Christianity, but it neither made Christians of the Jews nor absorbed Judaism in Christianity. The Gospel came to the Jews as it goes now to the world. Some men, at least, have preached it without denying it. It has found here and there the sheep of Christ, who have recognized their Shepherd's voice. But, as a matter of fact, the non-Christian religions have thus far proved as poor schoolmasters as Judaism to bring men to Christ. It may be held that, with Judaism, this was their mission, but that is to throw us back on the mystery of God's method in the education of mankind, and it is to present to faith a proposition regarding the philosophy of history as yet unconfirmed by the facts. Some day we shall know what part the non-Christian religions played in the economy of God. We do not know now.

But one thing is perfectly clear. Dr. Zwemer makes his appeal for love as the near way to the Moslem heart, and he cites Raymund Lull over against the Crusades as representing the real Christian approach to Islam. But how could love be more loving than in the spirit of Lull? And with what result? The repetition of Stephen's tragedy outside the city gate of Bugia on June 30, 1315.

No, the basic cause of the "failure," as some say, or of the slow progress, as we will say, is not to be found in the alleged wrong methods of missions to Moslems. They have been far from perfect but the basic cause is not there. In part it is in the very nature of the task, so similar to the problem of the evangelization of the Jews in Paul's time

and in ours, and in some respects so much more difficult. And in part it has lain in the neglect of the Church. It is this neglect which Dr. Zwemer describes and which more perhaps than anyone else he has striven to repair. [2]

And as to the basic issue raised in "A Letter from the Near East," whom did Christ represent Himself to be, in relation to other "teachers" or "leaders"? What did He require of men as the conditions of discipleship? Did He propose terms which involved no rupture or breach of other relationships? What would have become of His work and mission if He had counselled His followers in the terms advocated in this letter? And where in the world today would there be a Christian Church on these terms? Or would the writer of this letter forego the establishment of the Church until the whole of some non-Christian religion was prepared to transform itself? His view is surely not the view of the New Testament, and the missionary enterprise will hold to that view or it will cease.

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[2] It should be added that there are a number of typographical errors which should be corrected on pages 35, 78, 107, 156, 152, 153, 141, 197, 208, 226; that Bahrein is spelled Bahrain on pages 193, 194 and elsewhere Bahrein; that there are some hasty English constructions on pages 59, 198, 274; and that it would be more satisfactory if the testimonies quoted on pages 185, 204, 241, 238, 261, were not anonymous.

THE BEKTASHI DERVISHES AND THE YOUNG TURKS

"If we take the lowest figure given by any observer, approximately ten per cent. of the population of Turkey was directly or indirectly under the influence of the Bektashi Order." [1] If we accept the highest estimate, close to a third of Anatolian Turkey alone was connected in one way or another with the Bektashi Order. [2] No matter what estimate we accept, it is apparent that the Order must be considered by historians as a potent force in the shaping of Turkish destiny.

This paper is concerned with the application of this line of reasoning to a study of the origins of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908; it arose from the fact that in his study of this revolution the writer realized the necessity of investigating the activity of the Bektashis. The religious beliefs and customs of the Order will not be examined in any detail here, but will be mentioned only in so far as they affect the political rôle of the Bektashis. [3] The writer intends only to present evidence to support the conclusion that the Bektashi Dervish Order played a part in the preparation of the Young Turk Revolution. This evidence is as yet entirely circumstantial and secondary, as might be expected when dealing with an order so secretive as the Bektashis.

First let us turn to a brief consideration of the elements in Bektashism which tend to support the belief that the Order was interested in the same ends as were the Young

[1] John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London & Hartford, 1937, p. 16.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[3] For a complete discussion of the Bektashi faith the reader is referred to Birge, *op. cit.*, which is based on personal observation and on Bektashi writings as well as on a study of the available Turkish and European material. The writer acknowledges his debt to this excellent study for much valuable information.

Turks. We know that the Bektashis were the most *Turkish* of all the dervish orders. In contrast to the Mevlevi Order, for example, the Bektashis clung to the Turkish language and Turkish forms in their literature all during the period when the cultural life of the Ottoman Empire was largely dominated by Persian and Arabic influences. [4]

A Turkish investigator in 1926, writing in the official magazine of the national culture society called the Turkish *Ocak*, makes the claim that the Turkish national ideal never was able to find its expression in the Arab internationalism, but did find it in the tekkes or lodge rooms of the Alevi orders of which the Bektashis and village groups related to them are chief examples. In the secret practices of these religious groups alone was "national freedom" to be found. [5]

Bektashi literature figures prominently in present-day Turkish anthologies and histories of Turkish literature, although little attention has been paid to it by European students in general. The reason for this attention by modern nationalist Turkey lies in the fact that most other Turkish literature was, until the middle of the nineteenth century, so under the dominance of Persian style and so interspersed with Persian and Arabic words as to be completely unintelligible to all but the highly educated. Even after the modern school of Turkish literature began to shed its Persian shackles, it did so under the influence of Western ideas and was merely exchanging Persian for French style. Ziya Gök Alp was to a great extent responsible for the revival of the truly Turkish, but his influence was not strong until after the Revolution of 1908.

In its doctrines and beliefs the Bektashi Order is liberal. It is certainly not orthodox Sunnite, nor, for that matter, is it orthodox Shiite. It draws, rather, from a number of sources, and the beliefs of individuals within the Order range from "the crudest superstition . . . . to a definitely materialistic atheism." [6] It has been suggested by some writers that a connection exists, or existed, between European Freemasonry and the Bektashi Order. Richard

[4] *Ibid*, p. 16.
[5] *Idem*, citing the article by Baha Sait, "Türkiyede Alevi Zümreleri (Alevi Groups in Turkey)," *Türk Yurdu*, no. 21 (Eylül [Sept.] 1926) p. 204.
[6] Birge, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

Davey,[7] writing in 1897, remarks that he had heard it said that the Order was "affiliated to some of the French Masonic Lodges." As early as 1867 Brown[8] noted that some of his Moslem friends had become Masons in Europe. Of the Bektashis he has the following to say:

It is rather strange that the Darvishes of the Baqtāshī order consider themselves quite the same as the Freemasons, and are disposed to fraternise with them. The name of Freemasonry in the Turkish language is *farmāson,* and is one of great reproach. It signifies atheism of the most condemnable character, and this may be said of the Baqtāshīs, who, from some reason or other not quite clear to me, are held in small repute among other Mussulmans, even those belonging to the other Darvish Orders.[9]

On the same subject, another writer says of the Bektashis:

In association with the Janissaries they played, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, much the same part in the Ottoman reform movement as did Freemasonry in European reform movements. They were, in fact, affiliated with French Freemasonry. Fazil Bey, a friend of Voltaire, remodelled the Order, so that it remained the organization of the Young Turkey movement for over a century. Its activities were philosophical, literary, scientific, and political, all with a national *arrière-pensée.*[10]

Richard Davey also states that a member of the Order (whom he calls in one place "Fāzil Bey" and in another "Izet Bey") was influenced by Voltaire and that "on his return to Constantinople he introduced into the order, already a secret society, certain philosophical, even free-thinking views, which, in due time, had a prodigious influence on the entire body."[11]

It may be assumed, then, that the Bektashis in the Ottoman Empire had some concept of national feeling and that they were liberal enough in their social and religious outlook to attract adherents of many religious and political persuasions. Women, for example, were accorded equality within the Order, a practice which gave rise to many dark rumours, some of which may have had a factual basis.

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[7] *The Sultan and his Subjects,* New York, 1897, Vol. I, p. 97. A later edition, London, 1907, adds nothing to his information on the Bektashis.

[8] John P. Brown, *The Darvishes or Oriental Spiritualism,* edited with notes and introduction by H. A. Rose, London, 1927, p. 64.

[9] *Idem.*

[10] George Young, *Constantinople,* London and New York [1924 or 1925], p. 198. Much of what Young says about the Bektashis appears to have been taken from Davey, however.

[11] Davey, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 156; see also p. 96.

Another reason for supporting the Young Turk movement may have existed in the fact that in regard to the Caliphate the Bektashis tended towards the Shiite doctrine of the Imamate, which would have made them none too friendly to the claims of the Ottoman Sultans. Birge [12] suggests that the Bektashis hampered Selim I in his campaign against Shah Ismail of Persia in 1514 because of their secret sympathy with the Shiite Persians. It may be that Abdul Hamid's attempt to revive the importance of the Caliphate was to some extent responsible for stirring up the opposition of the Bektashis.

In 1931, six years after the abolition of all dervish orders in the Turkish Republic, Ziya Bey, a Bektashi himself, published a series of articles on Bektashism. [13] His conclusion was that the Republic had completed the reforms for which the Order had striven and had thereby removed the *raison d'être* of the Order. These reforms were the abolition of the Caliphate, the emancipation of women, and the dampening of religious fanaticism.

It is difficult to believe, however, that the Bektashis were guided alone by altruism. Hasluck [14] was of the opinion that the Bektashis "aimed at an ultimate religious supremacy in the countries touched by their propaganda," and that they still hoped at the time of the Revolution of 1908 to establish a Bektashi state in Albania. [15] He suggests further that Abdul Hamid became suspicious of the Bektashis at the time of the Albanian national movement of 1880-1881, when the possibility of ceding part of southern Albania to Greece arose. At this time, he says, "the southern Albanians arose under Abdul Bey Frasheri, ostensibly to save the threatened provinces to Turkey, but really aiming at an independent Albanian state." [16] Whether Turkish Bektashis were completely in sympathy with the aspirations of their Albanian coreligionists is a debatable

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 67; p. 159.
[13] "Bektaşilik," printed in forty installments from Jan. 26 to March 8, 1931, in the Istanbul newspaper *Yeni Gün*. Cited by Birge, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[14] F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, edited by Margaret M. Hasluck, Oxford, 1929, Vol. I, p. 438.
[15] *Idem*, note 4: "This I have on good Bektashi authority."
[16] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 539.

question, but these evidences of Bektashi political activity in this period are none the less of interest to us.

Of still more interest is the fact that Hasluck seems to have heard that there existed some bond between the Bektashis and the Young Turks, for scattered through his work are references to this effect. Of course, the book is largely a collection of his articles written over a period of years, and he never addressed himself to this matter except in passing. At one time, for example, when discussing an eighteenth century conspiracy led by a certain Rhigas, he says "his conspiracy had some such secret relations with the Bektashi organization as seem recently to have existed between the latter and the Young Turkish party." [17] Again, he reports: "I am told by a former consul at Mosul that the Young Turks at the beginning of their régime made an attempt to destroy the tomb of Ahmed Rifai near that place. The Bektashi, on the other hand, I am told on good authority, voted solid for the Young Turks, although Abdul Hamid did not persecute them." [18]

We know that many Young Turks were members of the Bektashi Order. Davey is putting it a bit strongly, however, when he says, "One thing is certain; the order now consists almost exclusively of gentlemen of education, belonging to the Liberal, or Young Turkey party. Hence, as may be imagined, the Bektāshee are not smiled upon by the Sultan, but he has never been able to suppress them." [19] Davey was evidently unaware of the widespread organization of the Order in Anatolia, for the Kizilbash, Tahtajis and the like could hardly be said to be "gentlemen of education," but it is significant that he should have heard as much as he did at the time when he was recording his reminiscences of Turkey.

Many of the young officers who were identified with the conspiracy which brought a large part of the Turkish army into the ranks of the Young Turks were probably

[17] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 595.
[18] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 620, note 2. The reference to the tomb of Ahmed Rifai arises from the fact that at the beginning of this rather long note, Hasluck was discussing the probability that Abdul Hamid was a member of the Rifai Order, together with his adviser on astrological matters, the notorious Ebul Huda.
[19] Davey, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 97.

Bektashis, for the secretiveness of the Order combined with its broad religious perspective to make its *tekkes* a natural meeting place for these and other young intellectuals. [20] It would be interesting to know how many of the Young Turk leaders of 1908 were actually members of the Order. The philosopher and poet, Riza Tevfik, was a Bektashi and used his talent to write Bektashi hymns, [21] but no definite information about other leaders has come to my attention. Many of the Salonika group of Young Turks found their way into the Masonic lodges of that city and used these lodges as convenient centers of organization; it is possible that many of these same men had Bektashi affiliations.

One of the more serious gaps in our knowledge of the preparation of the Young Turk Revolution concerns the organization of committees and the spread of propaganda in Anatolia. That such committees did exist we know, for General Imhoff, a member of the German military mission in Turkey, tells us that he was informed by Ali Haydar Midhat Bey that these Anatolian committees gave the signal for the series of revolts which took place in 1907 and 1908 in Erzurum, Van, Diyarbakir, and elsewhere; Imhoff was also told that the actual outbreak of the Revolution of 1908 was planned for Anatolia and that the Macedonian uprising was more or less accidental. [22] It would seem more than likely that the Bektashis were aware of the existence of these committees and even that some of them met in Bektashi *tekkes*. We can at least feel relatively certain that the sympathy of the Order with that for which the Young Turks were striving was instrumental in paving the way for the spread of propaganda and its acceptance.

How far the other dervish orders in Turkey may have been concerned in the Revolution of 1908 is a question which cannot be answered here with any assurance. The Mevlevi Order had a certain appeal to intellectuals, and it would not be surprising to learn that there were Young

[20] Young, *op. cit.*, p. 198, lends support to this view. Speaking of the Bektashis, he remarks that the upper-class members of the Order do not wear the distinctive dress except when indoors and continues, "If you are invited to lunch by a smart young officer and are received when you arrive by a weird-looking wizard, you are safe in assuming that your host is not a fanatic but a free-thinker."

[21] Birge, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[22] Generalmajor z.D. Imhoff, "Die Entstehung und Zweck des Comités für Einheit und Fortschritt," *Die Welt des Islams*, Band I (1913), Heft 3/4, p. 174.

Turks in its ranks. To say that the Order as such was in favor of the Revolution is another matter, however. On the other hand, the Melami Order was, according to the German Orientalist Martin Hartmann, most definitely involved. In his *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei,*[23] Hartmann tells of a very interesting visit with Mehmet Tahir Bey, a member of the Melami Order who was soon to become known chiefly as the author of *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (*Ottoman Writers*).

According to Hartmann's account, Tahir Bey played an extremely active part in the preparation of the Revolution, both in Salonika, where he was head of the Military School, and in Alashehir, where he spent some time in exile.[24] Brown mentions that the Melamis, like the Bektashis, were popularly supposed to have Freemasonic affiliations,[25] but without going into the beliefs of the Melamis, Hartmann points out that the great factor in leading this group into the Young Turk fold was the personality of Tahir Bey himself. The latter appears to have joined the conspiracy through army channels, and "precisely through the character of Tahir Bey as a Melami the conspirator group sustained a significant increase, for he commanded so much respect among the brothers that all joined without hesitation as soon as they heard that he stood at the head."[26] While the Melamis were not a strong order and cannot be considered in the same category as the Bektashis, this evidence of Melami support of the groups opposing Abdul Hamid tends to confirm the conviction that the Bektashis played a similar but more important rôle.

Our evidence for this assumption is admittedly still circumstantial and secondary. To summarize briefly, the circumstantial evidence consists of our knowledge of Bektashi religious and social beliefs, customs, and practices,

[23] This work was published as Vol. III of *Der Islamische Orient: Berichte und Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1910. The visit to Tahir Bey covers pp. 173-79 and is dated "Pera, 9. Oktober [1909]."

[24] This is a fine example of how Abdul Hamid defeated his own ends by means of his policy of exiling liberals to the interior, where they quite naturally seized the opportunity of continuing and enlarging upon their opposition to him.

[25] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 64 and pp. 225ff.

[26] Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

and our knowledge of the rôle of the Bektashis in the history of the Ottoman Empire before the period with which we are here concerned. The secondary evidence consists of the references which various writers such as Hasluck have made to the matter. These references are somewhat tantalizing, for they only suggest without offering positive proof. Another such reference, by way of illustration, is to be found in the memoirs of a certain Kutschbach,[27] who speaks of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 as being "secretly prepared in the dervish-cloisters of the Bektashi Order." Disappointingly vague as this and similar references are, they at least tend to strengthen the belief that the far-reaching influence of the Bektashi Order of Dervishes was exerted in behalf of those who wanted, for nationalistic or other reasons, to bring about a reform in the government of the Ottoman Empire as it existed in the time of Abdul Hamid. It is to be hoped that more definite proof of this can be offered in the future.

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[27] A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd Europas: 50 Jahre Balkan-Erinnerungen*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 424.

THE KINGDOM OF THIS WORLD[1]

Islam is a disturbing, a distressing problem. Firstly, on account of its truly alarming power of expansion. Like two arms of a mighty lava stream it rolls, on one side eastward into Asia to its outermost archipelagoes, sucking up the animistic religions and threatening the high religions of India and China—on the other hand southward into the Dark Continent, here also burying the "nature religions" beneath itself. In Africa it is now only a question of time before the conflict becomes a two-front war, Islam *vs.* Christianity.

But whoever has considered the driving force of Islam, with its theological and spiritual significance, knows, secondly, how, right in the midst of our Christian Occident, a volcano is erupting, from which the same flood of lava threatens our Christian church today. *"Wir stehen, ganz Europa und die ganze christliche Kirche in Europa, wieder in Tuerkengefahr"* (Barth).

And thirdly, most tormenting and disturbing is the question of Islam when we seek to bring it into connection with God's thoughts. One who has seen and experienced how, as soon as some heathen has become a Moslem, he becomes immune to the Christian message, (humanly speaking, an almost completely closed missionary "object") knows the distress of this enigma. Does not God Himself here shut the door for His messengers, in that He thus allows this power free course?

From every side we are forced to penetrate the outer forms of this religion to its essential nature, its secret. Only then can we rightly understand and explain any mental-spiritual phenomenon, if we judge it in accord

[1] Reprinted from the January, 1941, issue of the *Deutsche Evangelische Missions Magazin*, Basle, Switzerland. Translated by the Rev. Frederick J. Barny, B.D.

with its fundamental elements, its "creative nature." We therefore leave out of account the wide region of popular religiosity in which Islam has taken shape in different countries, according as more or less of the old popular religion appears in it, the forms of saint worship, magic, also the belief in Mohammed's intercession. We must also exclude mysticism in Islam. Researches into the origins of Sufism incline strongly to the judgment of R. Hartmann that the roots of that mystical movement are to be sought outside of Islam.

I.

We can perhaps best and most clearly attempt to show what the essence of Islam is, from the New Testament, for there are in the New Testament—if one may say so—approaches that may lead to Islam.

a) John 6: 14, 15—"When therefore the people saw the sign which He did, they said, This is of a truth the prophet that cometh into the world. Jesus therefore, perceiving that they were about to come and take him by force, to make him king, withdrew again into the mountain himself alone."

The true Prophet who came into the world refuses the worldly crown and withdraws. Mohammed lets himself be led astray, takes the kingly crown and descends to holy war. Jesus recognizes in this hour the great temptation. Mohammed sees in it the great opportunity—and seizes it!

b) John 18: 36—"Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight . . . but now is my kingdom not from hence."

Mohammed answered: "My kingdom is of this world. Therefore, since it is of this world — my servants fight. . . .

c) In brief compass, we have the scriptural view of Islam in the record of the temptation, Matt. 4: 8-10—"Again the devil taketh him unto an exceeding high

mountain and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and he said unto him, All these things will I give unto thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then said Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan."

Here the essence of Islam is revealed: the grandiose, hideous reversal of the temptation story. "All this will I give thee, the kingdoms of the world!" Jesus refuses—Mohammed accepts! Is there not perhaps in Islam something audible, like a ghastly laughter out of Satanic depths: Revenge, revenge for that "No" upon the Mount of Temptation, for that scorned offer? Islam would be a theocracy, Allah's visible rule over the tribes of Arabia and thence Allah's world rule. "My kingdom is of this world!"

This central thought of Islam is not original; like so much else, it derives from Jewish and Christian sources.

In the first period of Mohammed's prophetic activity, the proclamation of Allah's rule, which finds its strongest expression in announcing the final judgment, appears in a relatively real, prophetic form. But this changes with his entry into Medina, where the enthusiastic prophet becomes the politician, the calculating statesman. Here was made the fatal turn in the conception and realization of the theocratic idea which Hendrik Kraemer calls "the fall of Islam." The theocracy becomes realized in a radically worldly form, secularized—and thereby demonized . . . "My kingdom is of this world!"

The grievous consequences of this turning, this fall, this succumbing to temptation, will soonest become clear by a comparison with the history of Israel. In the guidance of Israel by spiritually gifted men, chosen from time to time (judges and prophets) the kingly rule of Jahveh became documented. Hence the setting up of the dynastic kingship was a crisis, internal and external, in Israel's history, because in the emergence of the worldly kingdom there lay the danger of her secularization, of unfaithfulness to Israel's calling as *Malkuth Jahveh.* When this occurred or threatened to occur, there always arose prophets who

reminded Israel that between Jahveh's theocracy and the realized empirical kingdom there exists a tension. The weighty "political" service of the prophets (of the church of Israel) consisted in documenting this tension ever anew and so keeping open the throne of the King for the Coming One. Mohammed mounted this throne—there is no longer any tension in this respect for him and hence not for Islam. The great parallel to this "fall" of Islam is the Roman Catholic Church! Whereas the New Testament witnesses consciously directed their labors, their preaching, the founding and upbuilding of the congregations, to the day of the Lord, to the *basileia* of the coming *aeon,* and the throne of the King was thus kept open, "Peter's successor" mounted it and exercises *now* his visible spiritual-worldly, ecclesiastical, political rule. As in Islam, so in the world-church of Rome, eschatalogy is now only the final drama of the "church," here and now victorious and triumphant; whereas for the evangelical communion it consists in the recognition of and continuance in that state of tension which makes us a waiting and hoping church under the cross. The reign and the victory are reserved for Him in His coming kingdom.

Likewise, as in Islam the genuinely biblical, necessary tension in theocratic thought is dissolved, so we see the same thing in regard to the law, the *shari'a.* There is in the theology of the Old Testament something very impressive and affecting as we observe the ever-present struggle in the attitude toward and the interpretation of the Law. On the one hand, we observe the tendency to make the Law absolute, and thus petrify it into a dead casuistry. But this never quite succeeds, because, on the other hand, in the preaching of the prophets and in the expectation of the Messiah, the *dunamis* of the living God prevents this hardening and keeps the Law in a state of suspense in expectation of Him Who is its fulfillment. "I shall be that I (ever and ever) shall be" (Ex. 3:14). Of this problem, of the Law's being the schoolmaster unto Christ, there is no trace in the law of Islam. Divine revela-

tion and the *shari'a* become one; ethics and dogmatics are ultimately no longer matters of faith, but of jurisprudence. Identity, tensionless oneness of the civil, worldly rule of Islam with the sovereign rule of Allah and the complete coalescence of the *shari'a* of this worldly theocracy with the divine will, these are the conditioning bases of Islam, which are the indispensable key for the understanding of Islam at all times and of its success.

II.

In the following, we make some observations upon three selected problems of Islamic dogmatics. This, viewed quite historically, developed alongside Christian dogmatics. In the measure that Islam penetrated Christian lands (Persia) it was compelled to formulate its own doctrine. The formulation and largely the determination of its content it derived from the Christian theology of the time.

But in all these borrowings from Christian sources, which, unfortunately were not so clear, there appears the same characteristic phenomenon which we have noted above with reference to the Jewish-Christian conception of the theocracy. Biblical truth as partial truth, shortened, distorted and adapted to the Moslem pattern, is made absolute and becomes "incapsulated." The essence of the biblical message which with its tensions is a dynamic unity, becomes a static, tensionless pronouncement. The living becomes a statue.

1. *Scripture as Revelation.*

In the first period of Mohammed's activity we note a certain coordination of the several revelations known to him. Witness thereof is Sura 13: 38 "Every age has its book." The Jews have the *Thora,* Christians their *Injil* (Gospel); for the Arabs, Allah has appointed the Koran. All these scriptures are of equal worth and agree in essence. Hence in this first period, Mohammed speaks respectfully about the sacred scriptures of "the people of the book."

But in his later development this changes. By evident inward connection with the change from prophet to states-

man and also in consequence of disappointments experienced in Medina with Jews and Christians, his teaching on revelation changes. The three revelations are now set one after another, each later one superseding the former. The Koran is the last, and therefore the highest revelation (Sura 5: 48-52). It is therefore disobedience to Allah to remain at one of the earlier stages. A Moslem *sheikh* put this aptly from his standpoint in a parable related to the Orientalist, Dr. Baer of Zurich. "A caravan marching through the desert reaches a halting-place. A part of the company settles and goes no further. These are the Jews; their camp is designated by the name of Moses. The others go on, and at the next halt another portion remains behind. These are the Christians, their station is called Jesus. The rest continue their journey and reach the goal, called Mohammed. Those who have arrived wait there for the others, who—however long they may tarry—are surely following and will be reunited with their original fellow-travellers." From this may be realized the difficulty of mere formal controversy with Moslems, since we, in their estimation, suggest that they return to an earlier stage of revelation which they have already passed. Jeffery once expressed this attitude of the Moslems to missions: "If anyone buys an automobile, he does not get himself an old model, but one with the latest improvements."

But there is a further development. In the first stage we noticed a certain coordination of the revelations, in the second a gradation of superiority; today, we see the Bible disparaged in favor of the Koran. In proportion as the Koran ascends, the Bible descends. The Koran becomes the eternal, uncreated Koran, which from eternity is the one holy scripture, of which Mohammed's Koran is the one legitimate copy.

What Jews and Christians issue as Holy Scripture is falsehood, conscious falsehood. For instance, they have suppressed all prophecies of the last prophet, and introduced the sayings about Jesus being the Son of God (Sura 5: 16-19). And so in Moslem polemics against the

Christian faith the preferred method is to bespatter the Bible of the Christians and to expose its contradictions, in which exposure welcome witness and help are found in irreverent criticism taken from our own midst.

The profound difference between the Moslem and the Christian view of revelation has been well expressed in the well known formula of Hendrik Kraemer: "In Islam it is said, 'The Word became a book', while the Christian believer confesses, 'The Word became flesh' ". The word became book! This means that the Moslem conception of revelation is rigidly mechanical, lacking that tension which we recognized as genuinely biblical. Indeed, this solution of the problem of scripture in Islam is tempting, simplifying the theological situation with one stroke. How often have we wished for our Bible that the problem were so very simple. And—how often do good evangelical Christians have a fundamentally Moslem conception of inspiration!

The Word became flesh! Flesh, meaning entering into complete humanity and thereby subject to questioning and concealment. This—in Scripture also—was no form to please us, but just so much of contradiction and offense. And yet, of this very Scripture is it the case that we beheld its glory—when we read the Word in the light of Him of Whom it is written: The Word was made flesh. Ultimately the Bible is not a book, but a witness, witness to the Christ. Biblical revelation is strictly personal, hence dynamic, bringing responsibility, while the Islamic is mechanically static with the emphasis upon recitation. The Koran employs teachers, pupils; converse with the word of God is conditioned on the relation of Master and disciples!

2. *The Unity of God vs. Trinity.*

We are aware of the Moslem's passionate and shocked rejection of the testimony to the triune God. Even when rightly stated that the triune God is not, as the Moslem learns from the Koran, a triad of Father, Mary and Jesus, with a background of sensual suggestions (Sura 5: 116),

still the great offense of the Moslem remains undiminished. What we Christians confess is for the Moslem *shirk,* the greatest sin, blasphemy.

The oneness of God is destroyed for the Moslem by the Trinity. The one concern of the Moslem theologian is to hold fast in every way the omnipotence and unity of God. Notwithstanding the ninety-nine names of Allah, one cannot say what he is or what he is not. Fundamentally, he has no attributes. Even the frequent designation of Allah as the merciful (first Sura) has nothing to do with the biblical mercy. It is not a mercy of the heart, but a philosophical mercy.

To isolate God strictly is the tendency of Moslem theology. This depersonalizing of Allah appears, among other things, very clearly in the Moslem doctrine of predestination, which runs into a vulgar, philosophical determinism and has nothing of the tension of New Testament "election." Here also belongs the fact that the Moslem has no personal dealing (no *I* and *Thou* relation with Allah) and therefore knows no real prayer in the biblical sense. *Salât* is rather something like a military showing of respect to Allah. What there is of invocations, etc., in popular Moslem religion likely springs from syncretistic sources. The same holds, as we mentioned above, for the rich world of Moslem mysticism. What the believer seeks in the various brotherhoods (*tarikah*) by the mystical exercises *(dhikr)* is not personal communion with God, but the elimination of personality, a fading into the tensionless, metaphysical being of Allah.

Strict isolation of God is the object of the Moslem theologian. He is right in that there is an isolation of God, but he does not know nor see that it is not willed of God but rather brought on himself by man; that the reason is not in God's being but in the fall of man. Herein is "the understanding darkened . . . because of the blindness of their heart," so that man seeks in God's being what yet has its ground in his guilt. The guilty isolation of man in sin is torn out of ethical personal responsibility

and, so to speak, forced into a metaphysical, irresponsible existence form of God. The most refined art is this, to get rid of the question of guilt!

What we have tried to express here in theological formulation, practical missionary experience always shows, namely, that ultimately, failure to take sin seriously is failure to take God seriously. In the belief in this Allah there is no distress of sin. Sin is simply transgressing ceremonial law, but not the unnatural separation of God and man, not that painful knowledge of the guilty isolation from God.

This immediate, necessary connection between the question of God and the question of guilt seems to me decisive in controversy on the Trinity with Moslems, in so far as there can or may be such. The approach to the knowledge of the triune God does not lie in the intellectual sphere but in the elemental facts of life. The revealing of the triune God and the revealing of man in his own sin and lost estate are two sides of the same truth. What else moved the fathers of Nicea in formulating the doctrine, than the one thing, to attest unconditionally the salvation of man, the reality of salvation? The reason for their passionate opposition to Arius and his associates was that they knew that if the *Logos* was mere *ktisma,* creature, there is no salvation. The fact of salvation, the solving of the question of man's guilt, stands and falls with the reality of the triune God. Therefore in our missionary work we must be careful that we do not take the question of the Trinity out of its original connection. As soon as we isolate it, treat it independently, we intellectualize it and become then unfaithful to the full content of biblical truth. We must not yield to the Moslem and follow him when he would discuss the doctrine of the trinity apart from its firmly established background. The approach to the knowledge of the triune God is at the place where man knows himself in his guilt.

We notice, therefore, how argument with Islam ever forces us anew to the task of thinking through questions

of dogma. Islam, by its vehement attacks upon our faith, does us the service of making us ask questions anew and wrestle for new answers. *At the front, in the conflict with Islam, it is not so much a disgrace that we are not fully acquainted with the details of Moslem belief, as that we cannot declare clearly what we believe.* How decisively weighty is the unswerving confession of the triune God in witnessing before Islam; this should be clear. Before the triune God, Allah becomes an idol! Whence, unconsciously, but still deeply felt, the Moslem's passionate denial of the Trinity. There is more in question here than just a hair-splitting speculation. There is in question—everything! Woe to us if we in any way let go the confession of the living God in the interest of an easy adjustment to the monotheism of Islam. Such an adjustment would be nothing less than Islamizing Christian theology.

3. *Jesus Christ.*

The real theological problem of Islam is that it is the only non-Christian religion that knows Jesus and gives Him a very considerable place in its holy book, the Koran. At first sight, it is in this more "Christian" than Judaism, with its sullen rejection of Jesus as the Christ. But this greater nearness to the Christian faith is only seeming. For Islam employs its picture of Jesus to contest the scriptural New Testament witness to Jesus.

According to the Koran, Jesus is the only sinless one among the prophets.[2] The virgin birth is acknowledged, also that Jesus did miracles. What, however, the Moslem passionately rejects is the truth of the two focal points of Christian witness, Jesus' divine Sonship and the Cross. If, perchance, Christian theology should no longer know upon what the whole witness of Jesus rests, let it enquire of the Moslems! They know and feel it. The points of the Moslem's sharpest protest against the Christian witness are in fact the central points of the faith. By them every-

[2] [This statement, though often made, is not accurate. All prophets are sinless *when they enter upon their office*, but Jesus was born sinless. Tradition has it that Satan pricks every child of Adam at its birth, but he did not, or could not, approach Jesus to do so. But sinlessness (*'ismatun*) in Islam is a very different thing from the Christian conception. F. J. Barny.]

thing is, in fact, decided. Because he feels that his religion together with his *nebi Isa* collapses, if Jesus is in truth the Son of God, who died for us on the cross, he must needs so passionately make denial and call out "God has no son" (Sura 4: 169); "they neither killed him nor crucified him" (Sura 4: 156)! It must not be!

Why is Islam today so actually, so threateningly near? Because we are today more and more coming to occupy the place Islam occupies. We know Jesus. He has a place in our religion. We have a nice, furnished picture of Jesus. We let him be everything fair, lovely and good, but not what He is! With our Jesus-picture we destroy the real Jesus. We want His peace, but where He begins to disturb, where the pleasant, uplifting regard for Jesus becomes a volcano which threatens us and our standpoint. there opposition develops, an anti-Christian opposition. which knows Jesus, but which from its picture of Jesus. says *No* to the biblical Christ. Islam is the great prototype of anti-Christian religion. From it much can be learned in the present strife. Above all, that anti-Christ is not only he who turns against Christ, but in a truer sense, he who would take His place. There is a remarkable law hidden in the fact that the throne of God, from which Christ is cast down, never remains empty, but is soon occupied anew from below. The usurper is endowed with the very honors of which the legitimately enthroned was robbed. In the place of Jesus steps Mohammed, in the tradition of Islam. He receives the white robe of sinlessness. He becomes intercessor. He receives two hundred and one honorific names. Feature after feature of the biblical Jesus is transferred to Mohammed. Herein the secularized "theocracy" attains its hideous, demonic culmination. "And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns . . . . If any man have an ear, let him hear." Rev. 13: 1 and 9.

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A MUSLIM MYSTIC'S PLEA FOR INTERNATIONAL UNITY

Our modern world presents us with a sad picture of misunderstandings among the nations. For this reason it seemed to me that the Turkish poem, here presented in English translation, is not without significance for our present circumstances. The poem, which I accidentally came across, has been published by V. D. Smirnov in his "Master-works of Ottoman Literature in Abstracts and Fragments" (St. Petersburg, 1903, pp. 417-432, our poem being on pp. 418-421). It is a long poetical work entitled *Gharib-Nameh* or "The Book of the Stranger", the contents of which are purely mystical, in the style of the Persian and early Ottoman mysticism. Its author was Ashyq Pasha,[1] whose real name was 'Alī b. Mukhliṣ b. Shaikh Ilyās, and called Ashyq Pasha as an honorific title with mystical meaning. Ashyq meaning "Lover", i.e., of mystical philosophy, and so a Dervish. He was born about 1271 and died in 1332, being buried at Qyr-Shehir, a town in the Qaraman province of Asia Minor. In his poem he calls himself "stranger" in a double sense, as being a stranger in that town, since he came from Persia, as well as being a stranger (Mystic) in this world. He finished this work in 1329. It is divided into ten chapters containing a hundred legends, and each chapter is kabalistically connected with a number. Thus the first is number One, representing the One God; the fourth is number Four, representing the four elements of creation; and so forth. The

[1] E. J. W. Gibb, *Ottoman Poems translated into English verse with Introduction, biographical Notices and Notes*, London, 1882, p. 165; ibid, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London, 1900-1909, Vol. I, pp. 176-200, Vol. VI, pp. 8-16; Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1888, pp. 161b-162a; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, Pesth, 1836, Bd. I, ss. 31, 54-62; Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927, s. 35 (though through a misprint the date of Ashyq's birth is given as 1221 instead of 1271).

poem is written in the metre called "Remel", a kind of hexameter. The *Gharib-nameh* has been greatly influenced by the philosophy, as well as by the manner and style of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, the celebrated founder of the Dervish Order known to Europeans as the "Dancing Dervishes".

Manuscripts of the *Gharib-nameh* are preserved in some Western collections, but complete copies are rare. Smirnov for his edition used the Codices of London, Oxford and Budapest, and his text is, as he confesses, eclectic. The language of the poem is an old Turkish dialect of Asia Minor. Its transcription is particularly remarkable, being typical of an early period of the Ottoman language when it had not yet fully crystallized. Thus we find unusual pleonasms in the orthography, or, on the other hand, curious omissions in the vowels. It also preserves many old grammatical forms which are no longer found in the current form of the language.

It is my belief that this Turkish poem of the fourteenth century has instruction that is of contemporary interest to us.

Lo! ye who ask its meaning, listen! Look what I shall say!
Open your ear! pay heed! see what I shall say!
See, creature of God, see His power.
See how a creature wants its Creator,
Watch how all go towards the Unity.
One state is joined together with another.
See, all will be together at one and the same place,
The object of everything has one and the same end,
The desire of all the world is one and the same thing.
No one knows what is the state of everyone.
Everything that is spoken is but one word,
All our sight is but one eye.
This is the reason that there is trouble among men,
Because none knows the desire of another.
Either the aim of all the world is one
Or the object worshipped by those who have come and those who will go is one.
For these words there is a good parable.
Open your ear! hearken to what it is!
It happened by circumstance that on one road,

Four fellow travellers wandered, following the same road.
One was an Arab, one a Persian, one a Turkish man,
And one of these companions was an Armenian.
The one did not know the language of the other,
Nor did one understand the words of the others.
Suddenly, being in companionship,
They found, to their future trouble, in a certain place, a coin.
They picked up that coin, and on they went.
Now hearken! Walking along as they were,
Ere long a big town was before them,
And in that town were many varied luxuries.
There in the town they came to rest,
After their travel being wearied.
Ere an hour passed, what did their bodies demand?
My stomach is hungry—each one declared.
Said each one to the other—Where is that coin?
Bring it out. Let us give it to the servant.
So they brought out the coin in their midst.
The heart of each desired but one thing,
Of his desire each said but one word,
That which was in his soul he said.
Their languages were different, but the word was one,
And each one heard what the other said.
The Arab was the first to open his mouth to speak,
And he said (in Arabic); O, my companions, give me grapes.
Said the Persian (in Persian); O friends, let us eat of grapes;
Come, sit down, let us eat thereof.
Said the Armenian (in Armenian); I want grapes,
Let us eat good grapes.
Then the Turcoman said (in Turkish); Let us eat grapes forthwith;
Send the boy who will bring them.
The one did not know the words of the other.
Hearing the words he understood them not,
So a quarrel broke out, they were all fighting,
Blows with their fists did they deal one another.
The people heard the noise of their fighting,
And they came out to see what was the matter.
Said they: Ho, what is the matter?
Why attack ye one another? What is wrong?
Again they spoke in their different languages,
Explaining to the people their situation.
And the people heard their languages,
But understood not at all what the cause was.

Among the people, however, was a man who
Found a way to the hearts of them all.
Different languages were as one to him,
Everything was particularly known to him,
To the language of them all he found the meaning,
He found the explanation of the words of each.
He came forward and said: Ho! do not fight!
Have patience! Fall not upon one another!
Give me the coin, for I
Shall content you, and bring to you that which ye desire.
So he took the coin, went to the garden,
Paid for, and brought grapes with that coin.
When he brought the grapes, he put them before them.
Everybody was glad and delighted,
They satisfied their desire,
The object of them all was attained,
And not an atom of jealousy remained among them.
As the source of their trouble was one,
So the ointment for their affliction was one.
Why was all the noise and fighting?
It was due to ignorance of language;
The fight grew from the non-comprehension of words.
One man understood the matter, all became quiet.
Herein is a parable for the situation of the peoples of the world,
Herein is a guide for the ways of men.
The God of all creatures whatsoever
Is One. He is everywhere the final end.
All our light is from one sun,
All living people are from one matter,
Although faces are a hundred thousand, the life is one.
Lo! a hundred thousand plants are from one water.
For a hundred thousand years the pail has been going to the water,
But the flowing water straightway passes on again.
If in one place thousands of candles are lighted,
The gleams are manifold, but the light is one.
The colours of grapes are different, but the juice is one.
When it has become wine, its nature is one.
By the wind there are a thousand wavelets on the one sea,
And when the wind drops, it is the same still sea.
Through a hundred thousand windows we look at the same sun,
And where there is no window, yet it is the same sun.
During a year there are three hundred and sixty days,
But each day that is born is one day,

And each day has one name and one value.
In them all it is the same sun that comes and goes away.
As a rule each departing day has its own form,
But in verity and truth they are all uniform.
All creatures, also, are from the same origin,
Passing over their differences they are the same beings.
All things are in different species,
But the aim of all is, "God be praised!"
The aim of the nations of seventy pivots is this.
Their desire, their love, their worship, is this.
Care not if their languages are different,
Of if their circumstances be evil,
All they want is the one door,
Which, to everyone who knocks and asks, will be opened.
The truth of the matter is that their end is one,
And they will all go by one way.
Whoso is in calamity—let him be!
Tomorrow will he be with his Lord.
O Ashyq! if you know this thing,
If you know the destiny of hearts,
Do not be arrogant towards anyone,
But be good to poor or rich.
If you look at this Unity,
You will see this life.

New York City NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH.

SOME LESSER KNOWN TIMURIDE AND AFGHAN POETS

Islam was to mean order instead of chaos for the people of Arabia; Islam was to give them a focus point for the direction of their energies and to inspire them to sweep on to conquest of the neighboring lands. Those hundred years succeeding the death of the prophet Mohammed were to contain the story of the rise to world-importance of the Islamic confederation. Within the brief space of a few generations Islam was to be carried to the far ends of the known world, to Gibraltar and to China, to Northern Africa and to India. The Islamic confederation of states that resulted out of this wave of migration-conquest, was a group of inter-allied states united by the same common faith, by the same common democratic code of ecclesiastic law, by the same common script, and by their common adherence to the monotheism that Mohammed had preached during his lifetime.

Seventh century Islam had all the vigor of the desert out of which it had sprung; it had the puritanism and the driving force that a hard and bitter life had brought its original progenitors—the Arabs. Islam, in those first few generations, was therefore a political-social movement of action comparable in modern terms to the activists of the English Reformation, the contemporaries of Mazzini, or the followers of Ibn Saoud.

The unifiers of Mohammed's Islam had to cope with many social and cultural problems which the people of the Prophet's immediate generation could not have anticipated. In sections of the Islamic world, cultural-economic autonomy was to bring with it a trend towards independent intellectual speculation that would go far beyond the

original limits of Mohammed's doctrines; one thinks in this connection both of the Yemen and of the perhaps better known case of the universities of medieval Spain.

But Islam remained the great amalgamator—the great unifier—the great absorber, and nowhere is this more evident than in the case of Persia, where the Moslems had found, at the time of the conquest, an already ancient civilization,—a civilization and culture of a brilliant nature, exotic, pleasure-loving, rich, historic in poesy and tradition. The climate and life in Persia were soft and pliant, subtle and convincing, and thus climate and life conquered, developing in Persia a doctrinalism foreign to the rest of the Islamic world, a pliant, softer and less aggressive school of thought that is perhaps best expressed in the poems and songs of Persia's unique bards.

The naturalism of the pre-historic Iranians had early given way to an equally naturalistic Zoroastrianism. Hellenism and Zoroastrianism had jointly combined to produce in Persia a philosophic state of mind that was essentially foreign to asceticism and repudiated puritanism. The Persia of the seventh century was a Persia of flowering gardens, of wine, of poetry,—a Persia that the Arabs never actually conquered, except politically. Within a hundred years, suave, cultured Persia was to dominate Abbasid affairs; the conquered was become the prime-minister of the conqueror, while Persia's literature, art, philosophic free thought and pliancy of orthodoxy, contributed towards making medieval Persia the France of contemporary Islam.

Poetry had been, and still is, a favorite means of expression of the Arabs. In Arabia we find court proceedings, debates, trials and judgments recorded—as given—in poetry. In Persia, as in no other countries except perhaps China and Japan, poetic expression reached its highest form. Liturgical and secular philosophy and history were recorded by the poets of medieval Persia. Imperialistic and often ruthless rulers were famous, at the same time, as patrons of the arts and philosophies, and particularly of poetry.

But the flowering of Persian literature was to come with the introduction into that country's life-stream of still another cultural wave. India and Greece had formerly contributed to Zoroastrian-Hellenistic Persia; the new influence was that of China, diffused through the Tatar or Mongol invader.

China had long exercised a mounting influence upon Persia, since the early years of the ninth century when the first caravans had come to Persia with Chinese silks and ceramics. Traders and missionaries, as well as the prisoners of war caught in the frequent clashes between the advancing Arab world and retreating China, were to cross and recross these caravan routes during the next few hundred years. Chinese traders and prisoners of war brought cool colors and greater formalism to the ceramics and miniature arts of Persia; the aggressiveness of one century became the suaveness of the following; the influence of thousands of years of Chinese art and history inevitably tended to soften the aggressiveness of the new faith.

Persia—historic meeting-ground for Hindu naturalistic polytheism, for Hellenism, for bronze and metal cultures, —this Persia was once more to be the melting pot where new art and life ideas were to be amalgamated with already existent ones. The result was a de-theologizing of Iranian-Arabic secular thought. A serious blow, though not of course a deathblow, was thus dealt to purist orthodoxy. The Islam of medieval Iran came to accent mysticism, abstractions, philosophical speculation, and esotericism, while the home of the pure non-metaphysical Islam, the Islam of the Prophet's teachings, was to be once more in Arabia and in sections of North Africa.

The period of the Mongol or quasi-Chinese domination of Persia was 1265 to 1502. This age is easily comparable to the Renaissance of Europe or to the brief period of the Transcendentalists in America. Though this was an age of almost continuous warfare, of civil wars and fratricidal strife, the arts and literature, poetry and the sciences, flourished in the midst of the confusion.

In the very beginning, as in the latter part of this period, we find a number of poets whose names have been obscured by history in favor of perhaps more dramatic personalities. There is for example the mystic Iraqi, d. 1289, who—in a lighter moment—wrote this love poem:

"Beloved, aught but love of thee, I cannot see,
I cannot see,
And in my heart all else but thee, I cannot see,
I cannot see.
Within myself, eith'r peace or rest, I cannot find,
I cannot find.
Pity or kindness meant for me, I cannot see,
I cannot see . . . . .

Out of thy mercy let me see thy face to heal my malady,
For any other cure for me I cannot see,
I cannot see.
If thou wouldest see me, speed thy feet, for parted from thy presence sweet
Continued life on earth for me I cannot see,
I cannot see.

Beloved, take my hand in thine, for I have fallen in a sea,
Of which the shore, if shore there be, I cannot see,
I cannot see . . . . .
By way of pity and of love, come then and settle my affairs,
For means of succour without thee I cannot see,
I cannot see.
To poor Iraki show the road that leads to thee, for in this world
A mortal more distressed than he, I cannot see,
I cannot see . . . . .[1]

A prolific contemporary of Iraqi's, the Amir Khusrau, is considered by many people as Indian. The son of a minor Emir who had fled to India at the time of the Mongol invasion, Khusrau was a famous musician and poet, and the author of a half million verses, 122,000 of which have been collected.

We hear now his lament on the death of his mother and brother:

"A double radiance left my star this year:
Gone are my mother and my brother dear.
My two full moons have set and ceased to shine

[1] Denison Ross, p. 43.

In one short week, through this ill luck of mine.
By double torture, I am racked by Fate,
By double blow doth Heaven me prostrate.
Double my mourning, double my despair;
Alas that I this double grief must bear!
Two brands for one like me, is't not a shame?
One fire's enough to set the stack aflame.
One breast a double burden should not bear,
One head of headaches cannot hold a pair.
Beneath the dust, my mother lieth dead;
Is't strange if I cast dust upon my head?
Where art thou, mother mine, in what strange place?
Canst thou not, mother, show me thy dear face?
From heart of earth come smiling forth once more,
And take compassion on my weeping sore!
Where'er in days gone by thy feet did fall
That place to me doth Paradise recall.
Thy being was the guardian of my soul,
The strong support which kept me safe and whole.
Whene'er those lips of thine to speed were stirred
Ever to my advantage was thy word.
Today, thy silence makes its dumb appeal,
And lo, my lips are closed as with a seal." [2]

There was Humamu'd-Din of Tabriz, 1198-1314, once worsted by Sa'di in a poetry-duel. In a mood characteristic of sophisticated Persia, he wrote on one occasion:

"On the day of life's surrender, I shall die desiring Thee;
I shall yield my Spirit, craving of Thy street the dust to be.
On the Resurrection Morning, when I raise my head from sleep,
I shall rise desiring Thee, and forth to seek for Thee shall creep.
I will smell not blooms of Eden, nor of Heavenly Gardens speak,
Nor, desiring Thee alone, shall I Celestial Houris seek." [3]

Another contemporary, Pur-i-Baha-yi-Jami, addressed this to a friend who had lost a tooth:

"If a pearl is missing from thy sweet casket
Thy dignity is in no wise diminished in the matter of beauty.
A hundred moons shine from the corners of thy cheek,
What matter if one star be missing from thy Pleiades?" [4]

Timuride and later pantheists included men like Maghribi, Iraqi, Awhadu'd-Din, and Jami. Maghribi, Muhammad Shirin Maghribi of Tabriz (1350-1405), was

[2] Browne, pp. 108-10.
[3] *ibid.*, pp. 152-3.
[4] *ibid.*, p. 112.

a disciple of a sheikh in north-western Africa who taught the philosophy of the earlier Maghribi mystic, Sheikh Muhiyyu'd-Din ibnu'l-Arabi.

Maghribi wrote:

"When the Sun of Thy Face appeared, the atoms of the Two Worlds became manifest.
When the Sun of Thy Face cast a shadow, from that shadow Things became apparent.
Every atom, through the Light of the Sun of Thy Countenance, became manifest like the Sun.
The atom owes its existence to the Sun, while the Sun becomes manifest through the atom.
The Ocean of Being was tossed into waves; it hurled a wave towards the shore.
That wave sank and rose in some heart delighting raiment and form.
Like violets the Ideas sprang up like the pleasant down on some fair beauty's face.
The anemones of the Eternal Realities blossomed; a thousand tall cypresses appeared.
What were all these? The counterpart of that wave; and what was that wave? Identical in substance with the Ocean.
Every particle which exists is identical with the whole; then is the whole altogether the parts.
What are the parts? The manifestations of the All; what are things? The shadows of the Names.
What are the Names? The revelation of the Sun, the Sun of the Beauty of the Supreme Essence.
What is the Shore? The land of Contingent Being, which is the Book of God Most High.
O Maghribi, cease this discourse; do not make plain the Mystery of the Two Worlds!" [5]

There have been many fascinating characters in this period of Persian history, great men as well as evil men who left their mark on the life of their times. There was the Sigismondo Malatesta of fourteenth century Persia, the Sultan Ahmad Jalair Uways, Ilkhan of Baghdad from 1382 to 1410. Ahmad had come to the throne by murdering his brother Ali. He took opium to such an extent that he sometimes had fits of madness. "He treated even the most noble people with scorn and ignominy. His cruelty

[5] *ibid.*, pp. 330-4.

was insupportable to his soldiers and subjects." His Emirs were among the first to invite Tamerlane into Persia.

Ahmad Jalair read and studied Arabic and Persian, writing poetry in both languages. He could write in six different styles of calligraphy. He was not only a famous but a good musician, his compositions being still popular a hundred and fifty years after his death. Like many other ruling figures of his times, he was also a good painter.

Ahmad Jalair was a courageous and talented soldier. He and the Turkish Sultan Bayazid were the only two who ever opposed Tamerlane, who took Baghdad the 10th of August 1393, occupying the palace and pursuing Ahmad who had fled with his court. The court travelled too slowly, however, and Timur soon caught up with it, taking captive some of Ahmad's wives, his son Ala-ud-Dawla, and the celebrated musician Khawaja. Ahmad himself escaped.

The fugutive Ilkhan took refuge with Sultan Bayazid Yildirim and began correspondence with Constantinople, attempting to stir up the Byzantine Emperor against Tamerlane. Bayazid not only sheltered Ahmad Jalair but refused Tamerlane's frequent demands for the surrender of the Ilkhan.

Timur (Tamerlane) was to the Islamic world of the fifteenth century what Jenghiz-khan had been to that of the thirteenth. The Egyptian Sultan, anticipating a time when Ahmad's military talents might be useful, invited the Ilkhan to Cairo, receiving him there with extraordinary honors. In reply to a threatening dispatch from Timur, the Sultan used equally haughty language, contemptuously comparing the flowery style of the conqueror's secretary to the scraping of a bad fiddle. But Timur's capture of Bayazid modified Egypt's attitude somewhat, and it was lucky for Ahmad that Timur died soon afterwards, on the 19th of March, 1405.

This man, a poet and a warrior, cruel, violent, treacherous, is nevertheless to be counted among the many brilliant contributors to Persian medieval literature who

have been overshadowed by greater names in our modern memories. Hafiz, writing about Ahmad Jalair, had recorded:

"A Khan and the son of a Khan, a King of Kingly descent,
Whom it were meet that I should call the Soul of the World . . . . . "[6]

Ahmad himself was the author of a number of poems of considerable merit. We are reminded of the court-poetry of medieval Japan, by the following passage in the lament of a girl deserted by her lover:

"O God, where is that cypress now
That caused my life to fade?"

But it is in his religious poems that the complex character of this Renaissance figure stands revealed. It is Ahmad Jalair who writes:

"Among God's prophets, first of all is he,
The faith he taught us is better far than all.
Each man of wisdom must his lover be,
To love and wisdom he is all in all.
Upon his forehead shines the light of God,
His cheek stirs envy in the starry skies.
Dust of a garden where his feet have trod
Is balm for earthly and for heavenly eyes.
The praise of his pure soul each moment spreads
On myriad angel voices through the air,
And mighty kings are proud to lay their heads
Upon his threshold, where I kneel in prayer . . . . . "[7]

Another interesting figure in Persian literature is that of the poet-mystic Hilali, a Chaghatai Turk born in Astarabad. While still young he went to Herat, where be became a protégé of Mir Ali Shir, known better by his pen name Nawai, who was himself a poet of distinction as well as Minister to the Timuride Sultan Husain.

Nawai proved to be a hard taskmaster. He took a keen personal interest in Hilali's poetic development, supervising his education, and, on "one recorded occasion is known to have driven him from his presence in anger" when the young man had composed some faulty verses. Hilali the poet will live forever, immortalized by com-

[6] Martin, p. 8.
[7] *ibid.*, p. 8.

positions like his "The King and the Dervish". Hilali the man was to be put to death in 1528 or 1529, accused of Shiah sympathies.

"The King and the Dervish" is described by Sir Thomas Arnold as an attempt on Hilali's part "to express the longing of the soul for union with God, and its suffering when it fails to attain communion with the Divine."

The story is that of a dervish who, despite many difficulties, is befriended by a young prince. The dervish and the prince are able actually to work together only after the accession of the latter to the throne. But the peace and security of the kingdom is menaced by an invading army, and the soldiers of the young king go out to do battle. The enemy is finally put to flight.

The battlefield is still. The king and his army, exhausted and worn out, sleep the sleep of the victorious. And, as they sleep, a heavenly vision appears to each one of them, announcing that they owe this victory entirely to the efficacy of the prayers of the dervish. The dervish and the victorious young king rule the country for many years, until finally, to quote again Sir Thomas Arnold, "the veil of the dust covers them".

The Sultan Husain has been mentioned. Husain Mirza-i-Baikara (1468-1505) was the last of the Persian Timurids. A patron of the arts and letters, he was fond of challenging and testing the talents of the many poets attached to his court. There is the story of how the poets Husrau, Tanai and Gami were once asked to extemporize, using words in their poems chosen by the Sultan. Maulana Nur-ud-Din Abd' ur-Rahman Gami ("Jami"), 1414-1492, a favorite of the Sultan, was assigned the words "light", "sieve", "staircase", and "orange". Instantly Gami replied:

"O thou whose light of rein has become the illuminating full-moon,
And the bosom of whose enemies has turned into a sieve pierced by arrows,
Place thy step on the staircase of resolution,
And capture on the zenith the ornament of thy courage!" [8]

[8] Meer Musharraf-ul Hukk, p. 313, quoting a poem by Gami.

Centuries passed, and the Sino-Hellenistic abstractions of Medieval Persia, particularly under the Timurids, gave way to a less humanistic orthodoxy. Islam in Persia, turning from a living if perhaps at times not too orthodox philosophy of action, became instead a hierarchic system not dissimilar to that of Turkey where political-minded Caliphs now ruled.

But in the mountains of Persia and in Afghanistan, in the hills and valleys that separated Persia from India, the vigor and the vitality survived, uninfluenced by either the lowland Sino-Hellenism or the rigidity of latter-day European-influenced Persian society. In those mountains there were vigor, forcefulness and strength, epitomized perhaps the best in the poems of the seventeenth century Afghan warrior, Khushal Khan the Khatak:

"Thee do I ask for help, O God, the One, the Indivisible.
Only beneath Thy shadow can I succeed.
I crouch on Thy threshold, Thy slave. Thee do I praise.
Thee shall I praise while breath is in my body.
Thy mercies are without number, like the sands of the desert.
And who can count the sands?
Thou art beyond age and time. Thou wast. Thou remainest.
Eternal art Thou, the One.
Thou alone, with help from none,
Hast created the earth, the seven heavens,
The two worlds, all humans and all animals.
Thy will, O God, created everything.
Yet none created Thee!
White or black, we are all but symbols of Thy unity.
All Thy works are wondrous, fashioned in goodness,
While the work of men's hands may be good or bad.
But Thou dost not close the door of mercy to the sinner.
Thus my confession of faith. Does my life agree with it?
No! My life stammers, though my words do not.
I do not deserve Thy Mercy.
Then help me to deserve it, O God, Eternal and One!" [9]

There is an eighteenth-century ghazal in the Persian style, which comes however from northern Afghanistan. The author is anonymous.

"Listen to my words, O Moslems!
All the world's pride returns to dust.

[9] Achmed Abdullah, p. 53-4.

So take with you to your graves a few truths,
That in the hereafter you may have no regrets.

For where is Abraham, the friend of God?
And Ismail, his sacrifice?
Where is the Prophet Mohammed who wore the halo of the Blest,
Though he never climbed the peak of Mount Sinai?
And Jesus, the sweet Saint? Where is he?
Hai! Hai!
The wind has blown their dust away!

Where is the emperor Akbar? And where went Mohammed Shah?
Tell me: where is Aurangzeb, the mighty Mogul?
And where all the strong men of the Fatimide dynasty?
Hai! Hai!
Sighing they went to their graves!

Where is Gengiz Khan, the conqueror of black China?
And Kublai Khan, the Thunderer?
Where is Nadir Shah, the Turkoman?
Where is Uzbek Khan of the Golden Horde who enslaved the Russians?
Hai! Hai!
Today their riches are but brittle vanity.
For the end is the end. The end is nothing.

You have forgotten the Lord God, O Moslems!
But the tomb will be your fatherland. All earthly pomp matters not.
So turn your thoughts to Allah and curse Satan the Stoned!
The end is the end. The end is nothing.
For where is Ghirei, the Khan of the Crimea?
Hai! Hai!
The wind has dried up his blood!

Death will come, riding his black camel.
On that day none will help you except the Lord God.
The end is the end. The end is nothing.
Hai! Hai!
The wind will blow your pride away!

Tell me: Where are Sultans and Khans and Amirs?
Where went Alexander of Macedon?

Osman of Samarkand—where went he?
And Wang-Khan, the ape-faced Manchu?
Hai! Hai!
The wind has blown their swords away!

Tomorrow, your foreheads black with sin, you will go to the grave.
Tomorrow the end will be the end. The end is nothing.
Today is the hour of religion, O Moslems.
Do good deeds! Pray! Oppress not the orphans!
Tomorrow—hai! hai!—the wind will blow your bones away!
So bow before the Lord God, King of the Day of Judgment!
His glory shines across the seven worlds!
Only by His grace splendor is in Islam!" [10]

Within the framework of Islam we find both rigidity and anti-orthodoxy, we find naturalism and formalism. History lives again in the songs and laments of these Islamic medieval poets—the history of a functioning conception of democratic society that still exists in our days.

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[10] Afghan ghazal, Abdullah, pp. 32-4.

AL-GHAZZĀLI'S RULES OF CONDUCT

BASED ON AL-QAWĀʿID AL-ʿASHARAH

He dropped his bag and eased his weight,
He tossed his bowl from which he ate;
He shed his shoes and freed his feet,
His course to run, his Lord to meet.

So spoke al-Subki [1] of al-Ghazzāli, adding, "And he turned his back on this world, and devoted himself to God, in private and in public." [2] Al-Ghazzāli had by this time achieved all the honours which the world could bestow upon a learned man. He had succeeded the Imām al-Ḥaramayn [3] in the court of Niẓām-al-Mulk, [4] established himself as the foremost and most influential lecturer at the Niẓāmīyah School [5] in Baghdad, and earned for himself the honorific titles of Imām Khurāsān and Imām al-ʿIrāq. [6] Scholars flocked to hear him, and dignitaries courted his favor. His reputation spread far and wide across the world of Islam, and the number of his enemies multiplied—often the sign of greatness. The Baghdad of the great Saljūqs lay at his feet. Yet he was restless, aggressive, and arrogant. He was conscious of his own gifts: prodigious memory, keen intellect, happy expression, and an amazing capacity for work. These produced in him an inordinate sense of superiority. He despised his contemporaries, and had nothing but contempt for other learned men. [7] He was, as the moderns phrase it, "fixed for life". And yet, overnight, he forsook it all. He turned his back on pomp, position, prestige, popular acclaim, and

[1] Tāj-al-Dīn abu-Naṣr ʿAbd-al-Wahhāb ibn-ʿAli al-Subki, d. A.H. 771/A.D. 1370; see ibn-Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalāni, *al-Durar al-Kāminah*, vol. ii (Hyderabad, 1349), pp. 425-8.

[2] *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyah al-Kubra* (Cairo, 1324), vol. iv, p. 102.

[3] Abu-al-Maʿāli ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-ʿAbdullāh al-Juwayni, d. A.H. 478/A.D. 1085; see ibn-Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* (Cairo, 1299), vol. i. pp. 514-16.

[4] The illustrious Saljūq vizier and statesman; see ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 255-7.

[5] Founded and endowed in A.H. 457/A.D. 1065. It was the first real academy in Islam which made provisions for the physical needs of its students, and became a model for later institutions of higher learning. See al-Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah* (Cairo, 1321), vol. ii, pp. 156-7.

[6] Al-Subki, vol. iv, p. 107.

[7] Al-Yāfiʿi, *Mirʾāt al-Janān*, vol. iii (Hyderabad, 1338), p. 184.

personal security. He experienced a sudden transformation of ideas and ideals as thoroughgoing and complete as that of Saul of Tarsus on the way to Damascus. In his own words, as reported by his friend and biographer, 'Abd-al-Ghāfir ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisi, [8] "a door of fear was opened upon him, which diverted him from everything else and compelled him to ignore all but God." [9] So complete was the change that many, including some of his friends, could not accept its authenticity. Even 'Abd-al-Ghāfir entertained some doubts. For a while he thought that al-Ghazzāli "had clothed himself with the garment of pretence". [10] Others were more certain and less charitable. 'Abd-al-Ghāfir conducted a personal investigation, the result of which convinced him that contrary to the prevalent belief, al-Ghazzāli's transformation was sincere, and that he came to himself. [11] "The evil spirit of folly, the inordinate desire for rank and position, love of pomp and prestige, and the reprehensible traits which characterized him were transformed into tranquillity, calm, magnanimity, and oblivion to conventional formalities. He took on the habit of the saints, and devoted himself to the task of guiding people to a deeper concern for the affairs of the hereafter." [12]

The reason for this abrupt change is not easy to determine. It can only be surmised from the words of al-Ghazzāli himself in his autobiography, *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl.* [13] He started his life as an authoritarian traditionalist (*taqlīdi*), then became a proponent of rigid rationalism, followed by a period of thoroughgoing skepticism, and, wearying of it all, came at long last to mysticism—a way of life which goes beyond rationalism, and partakes directly of that knowledge which comes from above. "God at last deigned to heal me of this mental

[8] d. A.H. 529/A.D. 1134-5; see ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 548.
[9] Al-Subki, vol. iv, p. 109; *Mir'āt al-Janān*, vol. iii, p. 184.
[10] Al-Subki, vol. iv, pp. 108-9.
[11] *Mir'āt al-Janān*, vol, iii, p. 184.
[12] Al-Subki, vol. iv, p. 108.
[13] Edited by Schmoelders in his *Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes* (Paris, 1842); French tr. by C. Barbier de Meynard in *Journal Asiatique*, 7 ième sér. tome ix (1877), pp. 5-93; English tr. by Claud Field, *The Confessions of Al Ghazzali* (London, 1909); and printed several times in the East.

malady, [a state of doubt which threatened my very reason], my mind recovered sanity and equilibrium, the primary assumptions of reason recovered with me all their stringency and force. I owed my deliverance, not to concatenation of proofs and arguments, but to the light which God caused to penetrate into my heart—the light which illuminates the threshold of all knowledge." [14] On this point, 'Abd-al-Ghāfir tells how al-Ghazzāli became disgusted and weary of science, although he surpassed all his contemporaries therein, and how he turned his attention to what would avail for the hereafter. [15] Al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍa [16] preserves for us in his voluminous commentary on the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* [17] the following explanation for al-Ghazzāli's remarkable conversion. One day, as al-Ghazzāli was preaching, his brother Aḥmad [18] entered the hall, and, addressing his brother, said:

> "Thou guidest others, but thou art not guided;
> Thou chidest others, but thou art not chided;
> Whetstone, as thou art, how long wouldest thou
> Sharpen the knife, and yet thou remainest blunt?"

Whereupon al-Ghazzāli forsook his previous ways and renounced the world.[19]

This tale is interesting only in so far as it reflects the intellectual and moral snobbishness of al-Ghazzāli prior to his conversion. But once converted, he turned his back on arrogance too. In the course of his new life, he laid down for himself certain rules of conduct. One can discern them in his *Iḥyā'*, as well as in his other works, although his impatience with the learned men of his age continued. Thus he repeatedly unleashes his biting sarcasm against them. Using the same figure of speech his brother applied to him before his conversion, he describes them as "a whetstone which sharpens the razor, but is itself blunt". [20] And again:

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[14] *Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, p. 6; *The Confessions of Al Ghazzali*, pp. 18-19.
[15] Al-Subki, vol. iv, p. 109.
[16] The famous lexicographer and commentator; d. A.H. 1205/A.D. 1791-2; see al-Jabarti, *'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fi al-Tarājim w-al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1297), vol. ii, pp. 196-210.
[17] *Itḥāf al-Sādah al-Muttaqīn bi-Sharḥ Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, in 10 volumes (Cairo, 1311).
[18] Majd-al-Dīn abu-al-Futūḥ Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad al-Ghazzāli, d. A.H. 520/A.D. 1126; see ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 49-50.
[19] *Itḥāf al-Sādah*, vol. i, p. 8.
[20] *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Cairo, 1334), vol. i, p. 49.

"Strange to me is he who barters good for evil;
Stranger still the one who trades his soul for pleasure;
But he who pays so dear a price as this, to rob
The earthly joys of others, he is strangest yet." [21]

And again:

"The shepherd keeps the sheep from harm and hurt;
Who would then keep them safe by day and night,
If they who watch were wolves instead of men?" [22]

And again:

"Ye learned men of this city of favour,
What will cure salt which loses its savour?" [23]

And yet again:

"Admonsher of men, thou wouldest be indicted when
Thou chidest them for that which thou thyself dost do;
Advice thou givest, and then thyself the sin commit,
And scoff the love of life while loving it more than they." [24]

By and large, however, he tried to act according to his own rules. These are embodied in a short tract by al-Ghazzāli entitled *al-Qawā'id al-'Asharah* [25] (The Ten Rules). They best show the code which this humbled and chastened man has drawn for himself. They are the best summary of his ethics.

The road to hell may be paved with good intentions, but the path to heaven may not be built without them. Al-Ghazzāli, then, insists on intention as the first rule of conduct. As usual he quotes the tradition in support of his position: "Verily, to every man is the intention he hath resolved." [26] This intention should be good and lasting without change. Good in so far as it concludes what it set out to do and leaves the rest to God; lasting in so far as it continues to be good, and is not dissuaded from its goal by anything worldly, but persists in its resolve.

Unity of purpose is the second rule. Serving God alone is the way he states it. The sign of this service is to be satisfied with nothing but the truth, and to deem all things besides unworthy. "Woe unto him who is subservient unto

[21] *ibid.*, p. 53.
[22] *ibid.*, p. 54.
[23] *ibid.*, p. 54.
[24] *ibid.*, p. 56. The verses are by abu-al-'Atāhiyah; see his *Dīwān*, (Beirut, 1887), p. 291; al-Iṣfahāni, *Kitāb al-Aghāni* (Būlāq, 1285), vol. iii, p. 142.
[25] Published together with nine other of the tracts of Al-Ghazzāli (Cairo, 1934).
[26] Al-Bukhāri, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Aymān wa'l-Nudhūr: 23.

money." [27] Therefore, let him who would serve the Lord avoid the things of this world, and rest his hopes and aspirations in God. Al-Ghazzāli realizes the difficulty of this rule in a world where man is exposed to want and need, and his standards are ruled by false values. Having himself experienced doubt as to the goodness of God, the meaning of life, and the basis of certitude, he warns against doubt as the most vicious of all afflictions. It drove him to the verge of madness. Therefore, "cast away that which breedeth doubt within you, and take hold of that which maketh for strength." [28] Furthermore, man should be physically in this world, but in reality in the hereafter. "Be in this world as a stranger, or a traveller, and regard yourself as dead [to the world]." [29] The outward sign of this state is contentment: to be satisfied with mere shelter against the elements, and with enough to keep hunger from your door. "Sufficient unto a man is a mouthful wherewith he keepeth his body and soul together." [30] Therefore, he that has a loaf of barley should not seek a loaf of wheat, and he that has a mess of porridge should not desire a pot of gold. The sign of the stranger is a light load as he sojourns in alien land, and his mark is his disinclination to weigh himself down with the goods of this world. The sign of the traveller is his prompt response, and his seal is his contentment with what comes his way. The sign that one is dead to the world is to prefer the affairs of the hereafter to the affairs of this world.

The third rule is to conform throughout to truth, and to make bold to differ with self by forsaking pleasure and enduring pain, by resisting desire and abjuring luxury and ease. As a result of such discipline, the disciple penetrates the veil, and enters upon that state where he could see the truth face to face. His sleep would then become wakefulness, his company solitude, his satiety hunger, his high rank abasement, his speech silence, and his plenty paucity.

The babel of religious sects and philosophical thought

[27] Al-Bukhāri, Jihād: 70, Riqāq: 10.
[28] Al-Dārimi, *Sunan*, Buyū': 2.
[29] Al-Bukhāri, Riqāq: 3.
[30] Al-Tirmidhi, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Zuhd: 47.

confused and appalled al-Ghazzāli. To him "this diversity in beliefs and religions, and the variety of doctrines and sects which divide men," were "like a deep ocean strewn with shipwrecks, from which very few can be saved." [31] Worse still, "each sect believed itself sole possessor of truth and salvation; 'each party', as the Koran puts it, 'rejoices in its own creed'." [32] He, therefore, urged orthodoxy upon the Moslems. This constitutes his fourth rule. It is to conform in life to the established practice, and to avoid all innovations, lest one be a faddist, vain in his own ways. For he who is a law unto himself shall not prosper. It might be difficult to understand how such an independent thinker as al-Ghazzāli would advocate a principle which would amount to blind acceptance of authority—one which he himself rejected in practice. It must be remembered that al-Ghazzāli's concern was primarily the public, whose discernment and judgment he did not respect or trust. In the second place he deemed authority, despite its shortcomings, better than anarchy. The unbridled sectarianism of the Protestant churches in the United States, for example, is more degenerate and disturbing than the ossified traditionalism of the Coptic or the Abyssinian Church. And finally, it is not unusual for a great soul to seek refuge against perplexity and bewilderment in the authority of an established orthodoxy, be the person al-Ghazzāli, or Newman, or even Heywood Broun.

In the fifth rule al-Ghazzāli recognizes the evils of procrastination and warns against them, urging steadfast zeal and determination. In the sixth he reminds his fellowmen of their duty to acknowledge their inability (*'ajz*) to accomplish anything without the help of God, but warns them not to use this as pretext for laziness in good works and neglect of independent action. Side by side with this sense of dependence they should cultivate humility and lowliness, and show respect and regard to their fellowmen.

In the seventh rule al-Ghazzāli preaches a doctrine of

[31] *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl*, p. 2; *The Confessions of Al Ghazzali*, p. 12.
[32] *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl*, p. 2; *The Confessions of Al Ghazzali*, p. 12; the Koranic reference is to *Sūrahs* xxiii:55, xxx:31.

salvation by faith. He calls it the rule of true fear and hope. One should not feel secure in the superiority of well-doing, but should rest his hope in God. This sounds like a faint echo of the Pauline doctrine, and reminds us of the words, "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast." [33] It is not unlikely that al-Ghazzāli, who boasted of investigating every system, [34] had access to the writings of Paul. But whatever influence there was, it must have been unconscious. Or could it be inherent in the nature of their parallel religious experiences?

In the eighth rule al-Ghazzāli recommends a life of devotion and prayer. He is sure that to neglect devotional exercises is to shut oneself from the only source of spiritual power. The eighth rule leads to the ninth, that of continual observation and watchfulness (*murāqabah*). This is the first of the mystical states (sing. *ḥāl*). [35] He who persists in watching and observing his own heart for God, and banishes therefrom everything but God, will find God and His grace, and certainty besides. He will move from groping to tranquillity, and from tranquillity to reality, through the will and power of God. His meditation will, then, increase, until he attains true faith. Thence he will be absorbed in God, wherein is the substance of faith. He will then say, "I have seen nought without seeing God therein, exalted above all in His subsistence, existing through His will and power, according to the contemplation and presence of the heart." The outward sign of this rule is to be courteous to other people, and discriminating in the choice of friends and companions. The Prophet said, "My Lord hath taught me, and hath taught me well." [36]

The tenth rule is consecration to a knowledge wherein one would see God. It should be pursued with diligence, both outwardly and inwardly. Its outward sign is perseverance in good works, since he who thinks that he can do without good works is a moral bankrupt. God, besides

[33] Ephesians 2:8-9.
[34] *Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, p. 3; *The Confessions of Al Ghazzali*, p. 13.
[35] Al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma' fi al-Taṣawwuf*, ed. and tr. by R. A. Nicholson (London, 1914), text, p. 54, tr. p. 16.
[36] Based on al-Bukhāri, 'Ilm: 31; *cf.* Psalm 139: 23, 24.

whom there is no other god, said, "If ye love me, then follow me: God will love you." [37]

The non-Moslem tone of these rules is apparent. They differ from the legalism of Moslem orthodoxy. By them Islam has been freed from the dead formalism of scholastic literalism, and quickened by the warmth of the living spirit. And it is exactly this warmth for which Islam was groping. By this spirit, the moral consciousness of Islam, which was all but dead, was stimulated and brought back to life. Personal religion and individual experience became an integral part of Islam. And this humbled and chastened man, who was cursed as a heretic in Baghdad, Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo, North Africa, and Spain, became the Authority of Islam (*Ḥujjat al-Islām*). But the best story of his life and works is summed up in the title of his major work, the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (The Revival of the Sciences of Religion). He brought Islam back to life, revitalized the law, and breathed into it a spirit of warmth and kindliness.

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[37] *Sūrah* iii: 29; *cf.* James 2:20, 3:13.

JAMES RENDEL HARRIS ON AL-GHAZALI

In the death of Dr. J. Rendel Harris many of us lost a great friend and all of us an interpreter of the religion of the Spirit. How well I recall the delightful fellowship we had with him at Cairo during the World War and that last visit when he landed in Alexandria after the steamer in which he sailed was torpedoed by the Germans and where, in an open boat, he witnessed the tragic death of his companion, James H. Moulton, the New Testament scholar.

It was about this time that he consented to read the MS. of my brief study on the life of al-Ghazali and wrote an introduction.[1] This is not the place to speak of his critical and wide scholarship, his exceptional knowledge of Syriac papyri, his professorships at Haverford, Cambridge, Leyden and Johns Hopkins, and his many-sided activities at Woodbrooke and Selly Oak. It was during his frequent visits to Sinai and the Near East for MS. research and Armenian relief that he came in sympathetic touch with Islam. Though steeped in the critical lore of the Bible, he was at heart a mighty believer and a mystic. His devotional writings are proof of his warm evangelical faith, especially that little classic, *Aaron's Breastplate.* Dr. Glover sums up the man and his message in words that explain why he had such sympathy for seekers after God, like al-Ghazali, the theologian and mystic: "He was big enough to let you differ from him on big things and on little, quick and shrewd to know at a glance if you talked with too little background, kind enough to be the most delightful of friends, with the most generous admiration and sympathy. He was bold to recklessness in speculation,

[1] A Moslem Seeker after God: Showing Islam at its Best in the Life and Teaching of Al-Ghazali, Mystic and Theologian of the Eleventh Century. Revell. 1920.

quick beyond words to catch an unsuspected value, a man of range and memory beyond the common. A friend, a scholar, a humorist, a fighter, a saint. He was not bred a Quaker; and though he became 'a convinced Friend,' he stood in a far deeper sympathy than most Quakers with the Free Churches. His most charming book on devotional life was, I think, his *Guiding Hand of God.*" [2]

It was on his return from Cairo to Woodbrooke that he wrote about al-Ghazali as follows: "Al-Ghazali was a rare combination of scholar and saint, of the orthodox Moslem and the aberrant Sufi. He made a real contribution to the history of religion, and has a peculiar value which attaches to Sufism at the present time. On the one hand we have the anthropologists engaged in the task (and for the most part successfully engaged) of tracing all religions to a common root, or roots, in the constitution and the fears of primitive man; on the other hand we have the mystics, of whom the Sufi is a leading representative, who are occupied in demonstrating experimentally that all religions which start at the bottom find their way to the top.

"William Penn said something in the same direction when he affirmed that all good men were of the same religion, and that they would know one another when the livery was off. But what did he mean by taking the livery off? The abstinence from rites, ceremonies and the like is a negative process which certainly would not satisfy the genuine Sufi. He would say with St. Paul, 'Not that we would be unclothed, but rather clothed upon, that mortality may be swallowed up of life.' That is real mystic language, and suggests that we shall know one another, not so much by being denuded of tradition and superstition (however desirable the process may be in some points of view), as by putting on the robe of light and sitting down in the heavenly places with Jesus Christ, *and with any one else whom He calls into His companionship.*

"Al-Ghazali tells us in his Confessions that he found the true way of life in Sufism, that is, in Pantheism, yet

[2] *The Expository Times.* June 1941, p. 352.

he remained an orthodox Moslem, that is, a Transcendentalist. At the present time, when the effects of a war of unheard and unequalled severity are still perplexing men, the Transcendent and the Immanent views of God are alike hard put to it. Sufism is on its back, Transcendentalism can scarcely keep its feet. It is a poor time of day for seeing God in all, almost as ill a time for believing Him to be over all. Where speculation fails, or limps along with lame feet or with broken wing, there must be some other way of taking us to God Himself, beyond reason and safer than imagination. Al-Ghazali found it, when he abandoned his lecture-room and went into the wilderness. While he still continued to recite the formulas, which affirm the Unity of God and the authority of His Apostle, he found his way into the Sufi inner sanctuary, where one understands that

> 'he who lies,
> Folded in favour on the Sultan's breast,
> Needs not a letter nor a messenger.'"

Then he went on to say that when we read the story of al-Ghazali "we are reminded not to seek the Living among the dead but to believe that the same Lord is rich unto all that call upon Him in truth." He believed, as we all do, that al-Ghazali may be used as a school-master to lead Moslems to Christ.

We need today a new emphasis on what Islamic mysticism (especially in al-Ghazali) has found in its search for God. Did not the author of the *Gulshan-i-Raz* (the Garden of Mysteries) write: "Dost thou know what Christianity is? I shall tell it thee. It digs up thine own Ego, and carries thee to God. Thy soul is a monastery wherein dwells oneness, thou art Jerusalem, where the Eternal is enthroned; the Holy Spirit works this miracle, for know that God's being rests in the Holy Spirit as in His Own Spirit." And such seekers after God today will find those who will lead them to Christ. For, as Dr. J. Rendel Harris expressed it: "All of us who love Christ are beginning to realize that we live in the same street and

are on the same telephone, some of us that we are lodged next door to one another and can knock on the partitions, a few that we are all under the same roof and all within arm's length and heart reach."

No one can read the story of al-Ghazali's life, so near and yet so far from the Kingdom of God, so eager to enter and yet always groping for the doorway, without fervently wishing that al-Ghazali could have met a true ambassador of Christ, some Rendel Harris, for example! Then surely this great champion of the Moslem faith would have become an apostle of Christianity in his own day and generation. By striving to understand al-Ghazali we may at least better fit ourselves to help those who, like him, are earnest seekers after God amid the twilight shadows of Islam. His life also has a lesson for us all in its devout Theism and in its call to the practice of the Presence of God.

New York City. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

A MOORISH TEMPLE CATECHISM

[In 1916 there was founded at Chicago a new sect by "the Noble Prophet Drew Ali." He was a Negro influenced by the Ahmadiyah movement as well as by Bible teaching, obsessed by the idea of rehabilitating the Negro race. He taught that "Jesus was a Negro who tried to redeem the black Moabites and was therefore executed." The whole Moorish race must be united under the new prophet Drew Ali and follow his Koran. Professor G. A. Bousquet gave some account of this curious syncretistic sect in THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. 25: pp. 40-44. They have now a considerable following and I have met them recently in Philadelphia and Chicago. Their other centers are: Charleston, W. Va.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Detroit, Mich.; Richmond, Va.; Cleveland, Ohio; Flint, Mich.; Newark, N. J.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Toledo, Ohio; Steubenville, Ohio; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Indiana Harbor, Ind. Their "holy Koran" is a pamphlet of sixty pages and forty-seven chapters. It is divided into three parts. The first is "historical" and traces the history of Jesus, who goes to Benares and Egypt, etc. The second part is concerned with ethics and marriage. The author here relies on the Song of Solomon and the Proverbs. Justice, charity, and peace are extolled as chief virtues. The third part indicates the racial basis and aim of the "Moorish Holy Temple of Science." Negroes everywhere must go back to the true Islam founded by their ancestors and abandon Christianity. As an example of the teachings of this strange sect (and yet not stranger than the delusion of Father Divine in Harlem) we reprint their "Koran Questions for Children." The cover has a portrait of the founder, and the Crescent and Star with clasped hands over the words, *Islam* and *Asia*. We reprint *verbatim*.—S. M. Z.]

MOORISH AMERICAN PRAYER

ALLAH the Father of the Universe, the Father of Love, Truth, Peace, Freedom and Justice. ALLAH is my Protector, my Guide, and my Salvation by night and by day, through His Holy Prophet, DREW ALI. (Amen.)

Koran Questions for Moorish Children

1. Who made you? ALLAH.
2. Who is ALLAH? ALLAH is the Father of the Universe.
3. Can we see Him? No.
4. Where is the nearest place we can meet Him? In the heart.
5. Who is Noble Drew Ali? He is ALLAH'S Prophet.
6. What is a Prophet? A Prophet is a Thought of Allah manifested in flesh.
7. What is the duty of a Prophet? To save nations from the wrath of ALLAH.
8. Who is the founder of the MOORISH SCIENCE TEMPLE OF AMERICA? Noble Drew Ali.
9. What year was the MOORISH SCIENCE TEMPLE OF AMERICA founded? 1913 A. D.
10. Where? Newark, N. J.
11. Where was NOBLE DREW ALI born? In the State of North Carolina, 1886.
12. What is his nationality? Moorish-American.
13. What is your nationality? Moorish-American.
14. Why are we Moorish-Americans? Because we are descendants of Morrocans and born in America.
15. For what purpose was the Moorish Science Temple of America founded? For the uplifting of fallen humanity.
16. How did the Prophet begin to uplift the Moorish-Americans? By teaching them to be themselves.
17. What is our religion? Islamism.
18. Is that a new, or is that the old time religion? Old time religion.
19. What kind of a flag is the Moorish? It is a red flag with a five pointed green star in the center.
20. What do the five points represent? Love, Truth, Peace, Freedom and Justice.
21. How old is our flag? It is over 10,000 years old.
22. Which is our Holy Day? Friday.
23. Why? Because Friday is the day on which man was formed in flesh, and it was on Friday when He departed out of flesh.
24. Who was Jesus? He was a Prophet of Allah.
25. Where was He born? In Bethlehem, of Judah, in the House of David.
26. Who were His Father and Mother? Joseph and Mary.
27. Will you give in brief the line (geneology) (*sic*) through which Jesus came? Some of the Great Fathers through

which Jesus came are: Abraham, Boaz by Ruth, Jesse, King David, Solomon, Hezekiah and Joseph by Mary.

28. Why did ALLAH send Jesus to this earth? To save the Israelites from the iron-hand oppression of the pale-skin nations of Europe, who were governing a portion of Palestine at that time.
29. How long has that been? About two thousand years ago.
30. What was the nationality of Ruth? Ruth was a Moabitess.
31. What is the modern name for the Moabites? Morroccans.
32. Where is the Moroccan Empire? Northwest Amexem.
32. What is the modern name for Amexem? Africa.
34. What is the title given to our ruler in Morocco? Sultan.
35. Where do we get the name Jesus? From the East.
36. What does the name Jesus mean? Jesus means Justice.
37. Did the Angel give to the Child that was called Jesus a Holy name? Yes, but it cannot be used by those who are slaves to sin.
38. What is an Angel? An Angel is a thought of ALLAH manifested in human flesh.
39. What are Angels used for? To carry messages to the four corners of the world, to all nations.
40. What is our Prophet to us? He is an Angel of ALLAH, who is sent to bring us the Ever-ing (*sic*) Power that comes from ALLAH through lasting Gospel of ALLAH.
41. What is the Everlasting Gospel? It is a Sav-our (*sic*) Ancient Fathers, by His Prophet.
42. What is the Covenant of the Great GOD-ALLAH? Honor thy Father and thy Mother, that thy days may be long upon the Earthland which the Lord thy GOD-ALLAH hath given thee.
43. At what age did Jesus begin to teach? At the age of twelve.
44. Where did He teach? India, Africa and Europe.
45. How long did He teach? Eighteen years.
46. What did Jesus say that would make you free? TRUTH.
47. What is TRUTH? TRUTH is Aught.
48. What is Aught? Aught is ALLAH.
49. Can TRUTH change? TRUTH cannot change, or pass away.
50. What other name do we give to TRUTH? HOLY BREATH.
51. What have you to say about the HOLY BREATH? All we can say is it is Great. It is good. It was, it is, and evermore to be. AMEN.
52. At what place on earth was the physical part of MAN formed? In the Garden of Eden.

53. Where is the Garden of Eden? In the land of Canaan, in the City of Mecca.
54. What is the modern name for the Garden of Eden? MECCA.
55. What is the name of the first Physical Man? His name cannot be used, only by Executive Rulers of the A. C. of the M. H. T. of S.
56. What are the words of A. C. of the M. H. T. of S? Adept Chamber of the Moorish Holy Temple of Science. (3rd Heaven.)
57. Who were Adam and Eve? They are the mothers and fathers of the human family. Asiatics and Moslems.
58. Where did they go? They went into Asia.
59. What is the modern name given to their children? Asiatics.
60. Who is guarding the Holy City of MECCA today to keep the unbelievers away? Angels.
61. What is the modern name for those Angels? Arabians.
62. What is the shade of their skin? Olive.
63. Are the Moorish Americans any relation to those Angels? Yes, we all have the same father and mother.
64. Give five names that are given to the descendants of Adam and Eve: Lucifer, Satan, Devil, Dragon and Beast.
65. What is the Devil some time called. The Lower-self.
66. How many selves are they? Two.
67. Name them: Higher-self and Lower-self.
68. What people represent the Higher-self? The Angels who protect the Holy City of MECCA.
69. What people represent the Lower-self? Those who were cast out of the Holy City, and those who accept their teaching.
70. What is the Higher-self? The Higher-self is the Mother of the virtues and the harmonies of life, and breeds; Justice, Mercy, Love and Right.
71. Can the Higher-self pass away? No.
72. Why? Because it is ALLAH in MAN.
73. What does the Lower-self breed? Hatred, Slander, Lewdness, Murders, Theft, and everything that harms.
74. What did the Higher-self say to the Lower-self at one time when He met Him? Where are you going Satan?
75. What was the answer that the Lower-self gave to the Higher-self? I am going to and fro the earth seeking whom I may devour.
76. Has he finished His task of devouring? Yes.

77. When was His time declared out? When He nailed Jesus on the cross.
78. What are the last words Jesus uttered? It is finished.
79. What did He have reference to? He had reference to the end of Satan.
80. Did Jesus say that He would return to conquer Him? Yes.
81. What is the name of the person into who Jesus was first reincarnated? Prophet MOHAMMED the Conqueror.
82. Was Satan to be bound then? Satan was to be bound in part.
83. When was the head of Satan taken off? 1453 (Byzantine).
84. By whom? By Mohammed.
85. Name some of the marks that were put upon the MOORS of Northwest, by the European nations in 1774. Negro, Black, Colored and Ethiopia.
86. Negro, a name given to a river in West Africa by the Moors, because it contains black water.
87. What is meant by the word Black? Black, according to science, means death.
88. What does the word Colored mean? Colored means anything that has been painted, stained, varnished or dyed.
89. What does Ethiopia mean? Ethiopia means something divided.
90. Can a man be a Negro, Black, Colored or Ethiopian? No.
91. Why? Because man is made in the Image and after the Likeness of God, Allah.
92. What title does Satan give himself? God.
93. Will you define the word White? White means Purity, Purity means God, and God means the Ruler of the Land.
94. To whom do we refer to at times, as being the GREAT GOD? ALLAH.
95. Is the Devil made in the Image and Likeness of ALLAH? No, he is the shadow of our lower-selves and will pass away.
96. Who made the Devil?—Elohim.
97. Who is Elohim? Elohim, is the Seven Creative Spirits that created everything that ever was, is, and evermore to be.
98. What is Elohim sometimes called? The SEVEN EYES of ALLAH.
99. How many days are in the Circle? Seven days.
100. How many days are in a creation? Seven days.
101. According to Science, how many days are in a year. Seven days.

A BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARABIC PHILOSOPHY

Students of Greek, Hellenic and mediæval philosophy already have some of the equipment essential for the ready comprehension of Arabic philosophy. Knowledge of the Arabic language is also imperative for full competence and valid confidence. It would, however, discredit the results of the best qualified Arabists to hold that little or nothing of Arabic philosophy could be understood or used without knowledge of the Arabic language. The amount of Arabic philosophy available for study in European languages is now immense, so that much can be learned without a knowledge of the Arabic language. Still more can be done through acquaintance with the Arabic alphabet, for then the difficulties due to the varieties of transliterations in use yield readily to exposition. Those whose interests include mediæval philosophy should know enough of the language to be able to use the glossaries and some of the dictionaries to be mentioned. Any attracted by inclination and opportunity to work on Arabic philosophy in the Arabic language may have the satisfaction of making important contributions. The great number of unpublished manuscripts and untranslated printed works of the Arabic philosophers will furnish study material for many years to come.

I. There are chapters on Arabic philosophy in the general histories of philosophy by Ueberweg-Heinze, Berlin 1905, vol. 2, pp. 234-53, Erdmann, Windelband and others; in the histories of special periods, such as "A History of Mediæval Jewish Philosophy," by I. Husik, New York 1916, and the "History of Mediæval Philosophy," by Maurice de Wulf, London 1925, as well as in

the histories of special departments of philosophy, as in Prantl, "Geschichte der Logik," vol. 2, Leipzig 1861, pp. 296ff. and in the "History of Psychology," by G. S. Brett, Vol. 2, London 1921, pp. 45-65. Authors of such accounts, for the most part, derive their knowledge from mediæval Hebrew and Latin translations of Arabic philosophy, or they depend upon the translations and descriptions furnished by the English, French, German, Italian and Spanish orientalists.

II. There are some articles on Arabic philosophers and philosophy in the general encyclopædias, such as the Britannica, La Grande Encyclopédie, Meyers Konversatzions-Lexikon, the Catholic, the Jewish and in McClintock and Strong. The articles in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics are recent and have additional value because of the system of transliteration used.

III. To these accounts should be added the "Notices sur les principaux philosophes arabes et leurs doctrines," in "Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe," by S. Munk, Paris 1859, reprinted 1927; the paper "Dans quelle mesure les philosophes arabes continuateurs des philosophes grecs ont-ils contribué au progrès de la philosophie scholastique?" by M. Le Chanoine Forget, in "Compte rendu du Troisième Congrès scientifique international des Catholiques," III, pp. 233-68, Bruxelles 1895; the article by I. Goldziher in "Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie," Berlin 1909, pp. 45-70; that by M. Horten in Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart," Tübingen 1929, vol. 3, pp. 430f., and the chapter on "Philosophy and Theology," by Guillaume in "The Legacy of Islam," edited by Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume, Oxford 1931, pp. 239-83.

IV. There are also useful accounts of philosophy in its relation to other departments of life and literature by authors who are primarily orientalists in "A Literary History of the Arabs," by R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1930; in "A Literary History of Persia," New York, Vol. 1, 1902; vol. 2, 1906; in "A History of Ottoman Poetry," by E. J. W. Gibb, London, Vol. 1, 1900, pp. 39-69,

and in "Les Penseurs de l'Islam," by Carra de Vaux, 5 vols., Paris 1921-28.

For bibliographical information about Arabic literature, including philosophy, the following may be consulted: "Littérature Arabe," by Cl. Huart, Paris 1902, in English as "A History of Arabic Literature," New York 1903; "L'Islamismo-Letteratura Araba," by Italo Pizzi, Milan 1903; "Handbuch der Islam-Literatur," by G. Pfannmüller, Berlin 1923, and incomparable for completeness and indispensability, Brockelmann's "Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur," 2 vols. Weimar 1898-1902, with its three Supplementbande, Leiden 1936-41 (the index at the time of writing is still incomplete). It lists extant Arabic printed books and manuscripts, editions and translations.

Now comes the welcome obligation to mention what Dr. Cyrus Adler in 1938 referred to as the most marvellous piece of scholarly work done on the American continent. This is Dr. George Sarton's "Introduction to the History of Science," and its companion journal, "Isis." The volumes are tracing the development of the civilization of the world, and include works on Arabic philosophy, stating the essential facts in briefest clear compass.

A discoursive account of Arabic science, including philosophy, and making full use of Sarton's work, is "La Science Arabe et son Rôle dans l'Evolution Scientifique Mondiale," by Aldo Mieli, Leiden 1939, (reviewed in THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. XXIX, (October 1939) pp. 404-07).

V. The only European history of Arabic philosophy is "Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam," by T. J. De Boer, Stuttgart 1901, in English translation as "Philosophy in Islam," London 1903. It is now superseded by the articles in "The Encyclopædia of Islam," Leiden 1913-38, as well as articles in journals and the introductions to separately edited works. As "The Encyclopædia of Islam" was published in parts simultaneously in English, French and German, its articles appear under transliterated Arabic rubrics, as these could be the same for the other three

languages. This circumstance and the necessary use of technical Arabic terminology make a considerable knowledge of the Arabic language advisable, and, for work on the graduate level, necessary.

VI. There is an important article and bibliography on "The Transmission of Greek and Indian Science to the Arabs," by M. Meyerhof, in "Islamic Culture," Hyderabad, Deccan, Vol. XI, No. 1, January 1937, pp. 17-29.

In the material on the transmission of Arabic works to Europe the following should be included: "Notes sur les philosophes arabes connus des Latins au Moyen Age," by P. M. Bouyges, in "Mélanges de la Faculté orientale, Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (Syrie) T. VII, pp. 397-406; T. VIII, fasc. 1; T. IX, facs. 2, 1921-24.

VII. Among the books of Arabic philosophy available in European translations are the following:

"Die sogenannte theologie des Aristoteles," by Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1883, which is described in Guillaume's chapter in "The Legacy of Islam," pp. 252ff.

"Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Ja'qūb ben Isḥāq al-Kindī," by Albino Nagy, Münster 1897.

In "Islamic Culture," Vol. xv, No. 1, January 1941, pp. 45-58, Dr. Max Meyerhof calls attention to the recent work of Dr. Paul Kraus of Cairo, on "The Philosophy of the Physician (Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā' ar-) Rāzī (Rhazes)."

"Al-Fārābī's philosophische Abhandlungen aus dem Arabischen übersetzt," by Fr. Dieterici, Leiden 1892. Other studies of the same philosopher are "Alfarabi's Philosophy and its Influence on Scholasticism," by Robert Hamui, Sidney 1928; "Alfarabi: Catálogo de las ciencias," edición y traducción castellana, by Ángel González Palencia, Madrid 1932, and "La Place d'al-Farabi dans l'école philosophique musulmane," Ibrahim Madkour, Paris 1934.

Studies of the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā' (Avicenna) are "L'Organon d'Aristote dans le monde arabe, ses traductions, son étude et ses applications, analyse puisée

principalement à un commentaire inédit d'Ibn Sīnā'," by Ibrahim Madkour, and "La Distinction de l'Essence et de l'Existence d'après Ibn Sīnā'," by Dr. A.-M. Goichon, Paris 1937. Other studies and translations of the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā' are noted in the books just mentioned. An article that should by no means be overlooked is "Filosofia 'orientale' od 'illuminativa' d'Avicenna," by C. A. Nallino, in "Revisti degli Studi Orientali," Vol. X, 1923-25, pp. 433-67.

It is Dieterici who translated under various titles (given in Brockelmann, G. A. L., I, p. 213) and also edited the famous "Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā" (Treatises of the True Brethren). Later important studies of this encyclopædia of Arabic philosophy are noted in Brockelmann's "Erster Supplementband," pp. 380f., to which there should now be added "The Origins of Ismā'īlism," by Bernard Lewis, Cambridge 1940.

There is now available the "Summa Philosophiae" of Al-Shahrastānī: Kitāb Nihāyatu 'l-Iqdām fī 'Ilmi 'l-Kalām," edited with a translation by Alfred Guillaume, Oxford 1934.

Al-Ghazālī is the Muslim theologian, mystic and philosopher who has received most attention from orientalists. To the full bibliography in Brockelmann there should now be added "La Espiritualidad de Algazel y su Sentido Cristiano," Tomo III, Madrid-Granada, 1940 and also "Note on 'The Meanings of the philosophers by al-Ghazzālī' " by D. B. Macdonald, in "Isis," Vol. xxvii (1), No. 73, May 1937, pp. 9f.

Additional information about al-Ghazālī and an essential account of another great Muslim theologian and philosopher are given in "The 'Controversies' of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī," by Paul Kraus in "Islamic Culture," Vol. xii, No. 2, April 1938, pp. 131-53.

On Ibn Ṭufail the best work, with fullest bibliography, is "Hayy Ben Yoqdhān, roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofaïl," texte arabe et traduction française, 2e edition, by Léon Gauthier, Beyrouth 1936. The latest English

edition of the work is "The History of Hayy Ibn Yaqzan, by Abu Bakr Ibn Tufail." Translated from the Arabic by Simon Ockley, Revised with an Introduction, by A. S. Fulton, London 1929.

Among the numerous translations of Arabic philosophy by Dr. Max Horten is "Die Hauptlehren des Averroes, nach seiner Schrift: Die Widerlegung des Gazali," aus dem arabischen Originale übersetzt und erläutert, Bonn 1913. French, German and Spanish translations of other works by Ibn Rushd are noted in the bibliographies, but little has been done in English.

Ibn Khaldūn, whose "Muqaddimah" was translated as "Les Prolégomènes d'ibn Khaldoun" by M. De Slane, 2 vols., Paris 1863-68, is receiving increasing recognition as a philosopher of history and sociology. There is a full bibliography in "Ibn Khaldun, Historian, Sociologist and Philosopher," by Nathaniel Schmidt, New York 1930. The article by H. A. R. Gibb on "The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldun's Political Theory," in "Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution," Vol. VII, 1933-35, pp. 23-31, should be added.

Studies of an important development of philosophy in Arabic are presented in "Continuous Re-Creation and Atomic Time in Moslem Scholastic Theology," by D. B. Macdonald, in "Isis," No. 30, Vol. IX (2), June 1927, pp. 326-44; reprinted in THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, January 1928, pp. 6-28; and also "Beiträge zur Islamischen Atomenlehre," by Salomon Pines, Berlin 1936.

VIII. A special variety of Arabic philosophy which is exceedingly wide-spread in Islam and also most closely related to other religions and philosophies is mysticism. This subject has been investigated by English, French, German and Spanish scholars. Among the works in English are "Studies in Islamic Mysticism," by R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1921; "Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East," by Margaret Smith, London 1931, and "The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Dín-Ibnul 'Arabí," by A. E. Affifi, Cambridge 1939.

Other and later Arabic philosophers are noted in Horten's article on "Falsafa" in "The Encyclopædia of Islam." Attention should be called to an article on "Some Problems of Islamic Philosophy," by Solomon Pines, in "Islamic Culture," Vol. xi, No. 1, January 1937, pp. 66-80.

IX. The histories of philosophy of the Middle Ages carry on the tradition of both Diogenes Laertius and of the Christian heresiographers. Such an account from the Jewish standpoint is "Kitāb al-Amānāt wa 'l-I'tiqādāt (Livre des Croyances et des Opinions) von Sa'adja b. Jūsuf al-Fajjūmī," herausgegeben von Dr. S. Landauer, Leiden 1881. An account of similar Muslim literature is given in an article "On the History of Islamic Heresiography," by R. Strothmann in "Islamic Culture," Vol. xii, pp. 5-16. Three such works have been translated into European languages:

"Abu 'l-Fath Muhammad asch-Schahrastāni's 'Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen'," by Theodor Haarbrücker, 2 vols., Halle 1850-51.

"Abenházam de Córdoba y su Historia Crítica de las Ideas Religiosas," by Miguel Asín Palacios, 5 vols., Madrid 1927-32.

"Al-Farq Bain al-Firaq," by Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, was translated in part by K. C. Seelye, as "Moslem Schisms and Sects," New York 1919, and finished under the same title by A. S. Halkin, Tel-Aviv 1935.

X. The one modern Arabic history of philosophy available here is "Ta'rīkh falāsifat al-Islam fī 'l-mashriq wa 'l-maghrib" (History of the Muslim Philosophers in the Orient and the Occident), by Muḥammad Luṭfī Jum'ah, Cairo 1927. It provides accounts of Ibn Bājjah, Ibn al-Haitham and Ibn Miskawaih, as well as most of those mentioned above.

XI. There is no comprehensive dictionary of Arabic philosophical terms in any European language. In 1903 Asín published his "Busquejo de un Diccionario Técnico de Filosofía y Teología Musulmanas," in "Revista de Aragón." The proposal still awaits accomplishment.

Previously editors and translators had added vocabularies of special terms to the works they published and the same has been done since. Among the increasing number of such special vocabularies are the glossaries in the Arabic edition of "Thier und Mensch vor dem König der Genien," by Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1879; "Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles in der Arabischen übersetzung des Isḥāk Ibn Ḥonain," by Isador Pollak, Leipzig 1913; "Rectificación de la Mente: Tratado de Lógica, por Abusalt de Denia." Texto arabe, traducción y estudio previo, by C. Ángel González Palencia, Madrid 1915. Horten has made the most extensive attempt at such a vocabulary in his "Verzeichnis philosophischer Termini im Arabischen," appended to "Die Spekulative und Positive Theologie des Islam," Leipzig 1912. In French there are Dr. A.-M. Goichon's "Introduction à Avicenna; son Épître des Définitions." Traduction avec Notes. Préface de Miguel Asín Palacios. Paris 1933; her "Lexique de la Langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne)," Paris 1938 and its companion volume, "Vocabularies comparés d'Aristote et d'Ibn Sīnā," Paris 1939. On the last two works see the important review by H. A. Wolfson, in THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. xxxi, No. 1, January 1941, pp. 29-38. Dr. Wolfson has made invaluable contributions to the study of Arabic philosophical terminology in "The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic and Hebrew Philosophical Texts," in "The Harvard Theological Review," Vol. xxviii, No. 2, April 1935, pp. 69-133, and "The Amphibolous Terms in Aristotle, Arabic Philosophy and Maimonides," *ibid.*, Vol. xxxi, No. 2, April 1938, pp. 151-73.

XII. Some editions and translations of Arabic mystical philosophy are similarly accompanied by special vocabularies. Of these the most extensive is "Essai sur les Origines du Lexique technique de la Mystique musulmane," by L. Massignon, Paris 1922.

XIII. It is worth noting that the technical meaning of Arabic philosophical terms is often recorded in "A Turkish and English Lexicon," by Sir James W. Redhouse,

Constantinople 1890, new impression 1921, and in "A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary," by F. Steingass, n.d. The special terminology of the sciences is often the same in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, although in other words the meanings will differ.

XIV. Muslim scholars have long recognized the value of special dictionaries of technical terms and have provided them in several forms. Two of these works have been edited in Europe:

Al-Jurjānī's "Ta'rīfāt," as "Definitiones . . . Ali Ben Mohammed Dschordschani. Accedunt Definitiones Theosophi Mohji-ed-din Mohammed Ben Ali vulgo Ibn Arabi dicti." Primum edidit . . . Gustavus Flügel, Leipzig 1845.

"Liber Mafātīh al-Olūm (Keys of the Sciences) explicans vocabula technica scientiarum, auctore Abū Abdallah Mohammed Ahmed ibn Jūsof al-Kātib al-Khowarezmi," edidit G. Van Vloten. Leiden 1895.

A vocabulary of mystical terminology had been published before that included by Flügel in his "Definitiones," under the title " 'Abdu-r-Razzāq's 'Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Sufies," edited in the Arabic original, by Dr. Aloys Sprenger, Calcutta 1845.

XV. The largest and most valuable of all Arabic technical dictionaries is the famous "Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn; A Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans," edited by Mawlawies Mohammad Wajih, Abd al-Haqq and Gholam Kadir, under the superintendence of Dr. Aloys Sprenger and Captain W. Nassau Lees, in "Bibliotheca Indica, A Collection of Oriental Works," published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1862. This work is the Mt. Everest of the Arabist.

It is not claimed that the translations, books and articles mentioned in this bibliography are of equal worth and importance. This survey is, however, intended to point the path to competence in Arabic philosophy.

Hartford, Conn. EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

MY CONVERSION FROM ISLAM [1]

From the viewpoint of a number of the world religions, and especially as the Moslem sees it, the changing of the religion of one's birth is a sin beyond forgiveness. Yet if it is a matter of leaving some other religion to accept Islam, whatever the motive may be in the way of worldly gain or avarice, then the Moslem sees this act as a good work. But the person leaving Islam and accepting another religion is worthy of being put to death, and he who kills him, be he successful in his purpose, is called a "gazi," (a term of very high respect among Moslems). Further, if such a killer is punished with the death penalty for such murder, he is called a martyr. Even should he fail in his purpose and be killed himself, still he ranks as a martyr in the regard of Moslems. Along with this same line of reasoning every one who in any way at all is opposed to Islam has no right to live at peace in the world.

Before my change of religion I well knew these conditions and fully understood the trouble that would come. For this reason, even after understanding the truth of Christianity, I kept weighing the matter for some length of time. Yet it is a matter of pride to me that I did not have to wait as long for my baptism as did some of my brethren under the force of other conditions. However, the story of my change of religion is not interesting because I was first a Mohammedan. It is rather that I was connected with a sect of Islam, the desertion of which for the acceptance of Christ as Saviour was of extreme difficulty, even if not quite impossible. The name of this sect is the "Ahmedi," "Qadiani," or "Mirzai" society. These people believe in Mirza Ghulam Ahmed of Qadian. Mirza's claim was that the prophecies of the second coming of Christ to the world in the Christian and Moslem

[1] Reprinted from *The United Church Review*, India.

scriptures were fulfilled in himself, and that he himself was the Christ. To strengthen this word of his he also wrote that Christ Jesus did not die upon the cross, but that He died a natural death at the age of 120 years. However, upon this subject there is a contradiction in Mirza's writings. In one place he writes that Christ is alive in heaven and will come again to the world sometime, and then he writes that Christ died and that His grave is in the land of Sham. But still again he writes that Christ's grave is in Kashmir, and that the Christ who was to come in the last time was himself. The Qadianis hold this latter belief to the present day. Very few people accept this statement of Mirza's. On the other hand Moslems very strongly opposed Mirza and still do. In order to drive the hearts of Mohammedans far from the Christ of Nazareth Mirza discredited Christ. While bringing several kinds of accusations upon Him he still maintained that the spirit of that same Jesus rested upon himself. Moslems were not able to endure such defamation by Mirza, so Mirza also gave praise to Christ and made this excuse, that abuse of Christ was given in answer to the harsh writings of Christian ministers. Some time before his death Mirza again confessed that Christ will come—indeed certainly come! From this we know that Mirza doubted his own claim, that he changed his claims in accordance with the times! Yet his own statement is that anyone having such contradictions is false. From this consideration we arrive at the conclusion that Mirza was one of those false Christs and prophets whom Christ the Lord mentioned at the time of giving the signs of His second coming.

I was not only a member of the Qadian sect, but was also a preacher for that society. I had a desire to preach from childhood. In my own village I was about the first follower of Mirza. After that the Qadiani religion spread greatly in our village so that no family remained free from its effect.

It was about 1924 of the Christian calendar that I read

a book about the Christian religion. Previous to this I occasionally had been reading the New Testament which my father had once bought from a missionary for six annas when I was a child. I was in the habit of reading it as I would a story or a fable. Indeed, the thought was that this book was not in its genuine form. But in reading it there was a wonderful feeling in my heart. And it seemed that God must have sent it in the very Urdu language in which I kept reading it, for in the thought of the Moslems the very words of an inspired book are from God. But this thought did not carry me on to the extent that any crisis sufficient for change of religion was precipitated, since I was in no way ready for that. Doubt was born in my heart concerning the salvation of Islam for the first time in 1924, when I read my initial book concerning Christianity—that which I have already mentioned above. But as was natural for a staunch Moslem, this thought quickly left me. I remember well when I presented the principles written in that book before a *maulvi* (a leader of Moslem worship). He suspected me of becoming a Christian, and when he didn't stop chiding me I had to deal a little hard with him.

The religion of a Moslem is simply that of form. In a ceremonial way he remains firm upon whatever he has heard from his elders. Among Moslems there are few acquainted with the reality of Islam, and many do not even understand the meaning of the worship which they practice. Nevertheless, they remain intrenched in their faith. A Moslem believes in Mohammed to such an extent that he cannot endure any opposition against him. He gives religious colour to Mohammed's every separate action, whether it have any connection with religion or not. As far as the bonds of religion are concerned one can be called a Moslem if he follows certain ceremonies. But this is not the situation in the Qadian religion. Qadianis do not believe those books in which anything unpraiseworthy is written about Mohammed. The details of no one else's life have been set forth to such an extent as have been those

of Mohammed's life. Writers have presented before the world both sides—the good and the evil, and to a truth-loving person there is a great satisfaction in being acquainted with his life. But the Qadianis deny a number of such statements although they do not regard Mohammed as free from fault. When any Mohammedan criticises Mirza's life then the Qadiani in answer tells the same kind of things about Mohammed. This is the Qadiani's general system and in presenting a real picture of Islam and Mohammed in this way they have done a great service. There is a great connection between this and my own change of religion.

Sometime after I had read that first book from the Christian viewpoint a Moslem got out a notice in which he wrote: "It is proved from Islamic books that Christ has a higher place than that of Mohammed. Either let the *maulvis* prove this statement false or I shall become a Christian." In answer the *maulvis* gave him a great deal of verbal abuse and said that a person thinking such things is expelled from Islam. I don't know what happened to that man. Although, being a firm Moslem, I did not pay attention to his statements, nevertheless the abuse given by the *maulvis* seemed to me very evil.

After this I read an article in some Urdu book which dealt with the subject of love. It influenced me greatly. Up to that time I had never read such a presentation. The name of the writer was not with it. I also showed the article to some of my friends, but no trace of the writer was obtained. However, it seemed to me that this treatment of the subject was not the result of an attempt on the part of some human brain. Long after I came to know that this was copied from the New Testament—from the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Then a considerable time later I happened to go to a mission station. The missionary of that place was not there, but I remained that night waiting for him. Two "Christian" young men lived there. They were both of such a kind that their loose actions gave me a loathing for

Christianity, and I rose up very early and went home. Previously for some period of time I had been very antagonistic to Christianity, because my faith was upon one who said, "I came into the world to break the cross," and who in his eighty-five books had opposed the Christian religion more than all else. And I well remember that I also was constantly debating with Christian preachers. Then also for sometime back there had been born in my heart doubt concerning Islam. But those two young men pushed me so far from Christianity that I understood that the tree itself could never be sweet whose fruit was so bitter. Accordingly, once more, I made a firm resolve to oppose Christianity, and, to fulfil this purpose, I fully devoted my life to the cause of religion, and, by the order of the Qadiani Khalifa (the chief of the Qadian sect) I was sent into a district for preaching.

Indeed now God was getting me ready for Christianity and was making such preparations that I might quickly recognize His love. He soon made it evident to me that evil men are allowed to remain in the church because the Kingdom of God is like a net into which both bad and good fish come. Going into that district to preach, I found that there were but some eight or ten people of the Qadian religion there, although the district was forty miles long. Other Moslems were very hostile to the Qadianis. For this reason I doubted if I could do work in such a district. The Qadianis in that district also warned me to be cautious, since in India people are very happy to give trouble to those of another religion, believing this to be a religious service. But I did not lose courage, and it is true that no one had the success in that field which I had. The head office of the society even wrote, "In this district the victory will come about through your hands." In two or three months I had made about twelve men of that district Qadianis and established three new congregations. Though, as far as knowledge was concerned, I was nothing, yet, nevertheless, my antagonists were unable to give any answer to my arguments.

In that very period I was preparing an address against Christ one day. In their book, the "Pocket Book," the Qadianis have brought many accusations upon Christ. I was reviewing all these accusations and comparing them with the New Testament. This was the first day in my life that I had regarded these accusations with justice. There remained no limit to my amazement when I saw that all these accusations contained no truth. I thought, "Of course Christianity is not a true religion, but no one has the right to accuse anyone falsely." As I took both books in my hands this was the first day I had ever felt shame for the Qadianis. "Why have they brought false accusations upon Christ?" This thought came to me again and again. Qadianis have time and again done evil, as for example, they have put to death a number of people who opposed Mirza; but in my sight this was the greatest sin of all that they brought false accusations upon Christ. And this was the reason that forced me to peruse the New Testament from the standpoint of justice. In reading the New Testament I came to know that I was a great sinner, and in the world no mortal was free from sin except Christ. Now I felt the need of some helper who would save me from sin. In Mohammed or Mirza I did not see this power because neither of them was free from sin. This verse of the New Testament came to my mind: "The blind cannot lead the blind." The perception of salvation and the means of obtaining it, of which the New Testament told, looked very good to me. I saw also that the Christian religion was not a religion of the body, but a true road to the holiness of the heart. Understanding all this I still did not wish to leave my dear ones and relatives, but on the other hand my heart was very uneasy. It seemed to me the Christ was calling me from one direction, and in the other direction relatives were forcing me. At last salvation, the desire for eternal life, and the infinite love of Christ won the victory over all else, and I decided to become a Christian. I met a Punjabi pastor, the Rev. Mehr Din, but did not disclose my purpose to him. How-

ever, that minister did not wish to leave me. He took me to the district missionary and from there I was sent with the Rev. Mr. Ibrahim (pastor of the Zafarwal Church) to Zafarwal. The missionary's wife was there, and she well understood my spiritual trouble. On the 15th of February, 1937, the missionary returned from camp and on the 21st I was baptized by his hands.

The Qadianis, on hearing this news, were put to confusion. It is their claim that no Qadiani can become a Christian. They and other Moslems began an opposition against me which is still going on. But the opposition which had the worst effect upon me was that of certain Christians. However, the love of Christ revealed to me through the missionary strengthened me in my faith day by day, and thanks be to God that from the very day of my baptism He put me into His witness and service. In the following four years I delivered hundreds of sermons among non-Christians. For me it is a matter of pride that my Lord began to use me so soon and in such a way that antagonists were amazed. In addition to this He granted me this gift that I am writing articles in Christian papers up until the present time and no antagonist has been able to answer them. I cannot forget the wonderful ways in which God has helped me. Above all the one whom God used was the missionary in whose love and care I saw Christ, who showed a better example of Christianity to me, and by whose efforts I entered seminary. I know that God is preparing me for His special work by means of such servants of His. I give thanks that He has freed me from the slavery of sin, and, including me among His special servants, has given me the ability to take the good news to others. Four years have gone by since I met my dear ones and relatives. But for me in my Saviour is that comfort which surely was not mine when I lived with them and was far from Christ.

Saharanpur, India CHAUDARI INAYAT ULLAH.

A LETTER FROM THE NEAR EAST

The article by Henry H. Riggs in the April number of THE MOSLEM WORLD puts before missionaries in Moslem lands a most interesting and challenging point of view such as deserves attention and study by all. The point of view is so important that it deserves first of all to be understood. In the opinion of the writer of this letter there is grave danger of a misunderstanding of the essential point of Mr. Riggs' article, thereby leading to a condemnation on the part of some, not of what Mr. Riggs is trying to get at but of the idea inadequately conceived. This danger is illustrated by its actual results as seen in Dr. Wilson's excellent article immediately following. The point of view of the Near East Christian Council survey is expressed in terms of effort to lead a convert from Islam to seek to witness by Christian life rather than word. This way of putting the matter presents a double misunderstanding of Mr. Riggs' point of view, at least so it seems to the present writer who was present at both the Delhi and Madras discussions of this matter. From the point of view of the Near East survey the expression "convert from Islam" is in itself inadequate. It pictures the situation in terms of radical change from one religion to another instead of normal growth from indifference or antagonism to new spiritual life. The very terminology puts before the reader the idea of controversy, of struggle to take out of one group, and put into another group, which the Near East survey sought to obviate. The idea of that survey was rather to permit the follower of Jesus to stay within Islam, to claim his right as a "Muslim," one surrendered and dedicated to God—to investigate the prophet Jesus and His Revelation and to follow all the way in obedience to Jesus, considering himself all the while not one who has left Islam but one who, taking Muhammad at his word as to Jesus and the Gospel, has discovered what that really means and has gone on to the more advanced position of utter surrender to the revelation of God in Jesus. This should be the inalienable right of every Moslem. No one ought to have to think that this necessarily involves the proclamation to the world of consequent separation from Islam.

The second point at which it seems to the writer Dr. Wilson has misconceived the survey point of view is in his suggestion that such a follower of Jesus will not witness by words as well as by life. In the illustrations which follow an attempt is made to show how one or even a good-sized group still generally regarded within the social political Islamic grouping can do evangelistic work of the most vital kind by *every* kind of witness.

On page 128 of Dr. Wilson's article the reference to "silent attitude" is suggestive of what are often referred to as "secret

believers." Such terminology, it seems to this writer, inevitably suggests a picture of a spiritual situation quite other than that contemplated by the survey result Mr. Riggs has advocated. The contrast between the "unbeaten path" suggested by Mr. Riggs and the long-trodden path of the last century is not between "dynamic Christians" and "secret believers," but between one hundred percent. followers of Jesus who are trying to be both "wise as serpents and harmless as doves" and ill-advised followers who, like foolish farmers, are scattering their precious seed broadcast on soil that is dry and hardened into something like rock by long exposure to the sun. The first group are not less loyal to Jesus. They simply take more thoughtfully his repeated teaching that fruit will be born only from seed cast on prepared ground and that it is foolish to offer precious gifts to those whose training and preparation can only make them trample these under foot.

In view of the difficulty of fully grasping all that the writer believes is involved in Mr. Riggs' article it is earnestly to be hoped that the various points of view regarding this matter may be fully explored and illustrated by actual experiences from life. As one contribution in this direction the writer would like to offer certain concrete examples which may help to illuminate the different points of view. There seem to be four categories into which Moslems who have found new life in Jesus fall.

First, there are the so-called "open converts" of the long-trodden path type. The writer, in the country where he has lived, has directly or indirectly known of from forty to fifty such. At one time he kept a card index of such and was in touch with over thirty contemporary cases. Twice during recent decades an attempt to form a church was made. Some of these "converts" were faithful unto death. Publicity in regard to some stirred up public feeling to the point where any investigation of the things of Jesus was made a hundred-fold more difficult for other Moslems. In most cases publicity and bitter social opposition came before the "convert" was out of the most preliminary stage of being a real believer. In some instances public confession reminded the onlooker of a babe newly born into the world being thrown into an angry sea when he was not equipped to live by himself on land to say nothing of having to buffet the breaking waves. The sum total of the experience of nearly a hundred years is that this method of "conversion" and "open confession" has netted just nothing in permanent results except for the arousing of misunderstanding and opposition which makes the work harder by far today than it need have been.

The second category is that of the "secret believer." For years the writer knew a man who frankly classed himself as that and whose father also had been a "secret believer" before him. According to this man there has been for years a considerable group of such in the country, some of them in very high places, where on occasion public policy has been influenced by the secret point of view. The pathos of this man's spiritual condition touched the heart. One's deepest sympathies went out to him, for his faith meant much to him. But his moral position was an impossible one. His influence could not count to the full. Nor could there be the

deepest peace within. In spite of these obvious shortcomings it was unmistakable, however, that God did not desert him. Battling against a physical handicap that any open Christian would find difficult to endure, there was a quiet joy in his life that impressed his friends and that testified to the indwelling spirit of a living God. Even as a secret believer, with all the moral contradiction of his position, his faith endured. He found courage to live hopefully and with some joy in the midst of poverty and handicapped by one of the greatest physical handicaps. We knew him, we tried to give our friendship to him. We thanked God for His mercy, so much greater than that of many of His followers. But, we never envied the man his difficult position, nor did we care to seek to add to the number of "secret believers."

A third group is one that began with two or three and has registered steady growth in the life of discipleship for about twenty years, and has multiplied to nearly ten times that number. This group seems to illustrate just the point of view advocated in Mr. Riggs' article. They began by studying the Gospel with open minds. They felt drawn to Jesus as the revelation of a new way. They came devotedly to love Him. The remarkable thing about this group is that they never felt the need of Western Christianity. They did not criticise that for Westerners, but they felt it had little to offer to them. Rather to them it looked like a stumbling block. They went directly to Jesus and drew their inspiration from Him, doing their own thinking, drawing their own conclusions. They thought of themselves as followers of a "new way," as travellers journeying along "an unbeaten path." They kept close to their missionary friends. They never seemed perfect, nor to have fully attained, but with all their faults, they often made their missionary friends think they were taking Jesus more seriously than were the missionaries, encumbered as the latter were with their inherited way of living. Now this group are "Jesusists" if they are not "Christians." They seek to follow Jesus, yet they make no break with their inherited social group. In the group are those who have little or no use for the religion of Muhammad. One or two attend church service regularly. All view Muhammad as a spiritual leader objectively and know Muhammad as most western scholars know him. They are not "secret believers," nor are they followers of a "silent attitude." They simply believe it is their duty as followers of Jesus to change people's lives under God, not to turn people against God and Christ. Therefore they say that it is positively wrong to talk about Jesus to one who has such a prejudice that the mention of Jesus' name will set up a hostile attitude. They prefer to teach the contents of the "Jesus way of living" without reference to God or the Bible until they find an encouraging response. They are willing to devote scores and scores of hours to the single individual, and to wait for years for the seed to grow. They gather occasionally in a group for worship and they understand that unless there be a "church" there will not be means of perpetuating into wider circles and new generations what they have received. They pursue their way quietly, but with deep enthusiasm, and they see no need for "separation" from one social classification

to another. They study deeply old music and the spiritual side of their old faith, drawing from both freely for the nurture of their new life. If they are not yet perfect Christians, who is? At least they are vital; through the testings of two decades they have proved notably successful.

In order to understand this group correctly perhaps a further word of explanation is necessary. Saying they do not feel the need of "separation" is not the same as saying they still feel themselves to be nominally Moslems or a part of Islam. Most of them probably do not feel that way. Their thinking leads them rather in a quite different direction. The course they follow simply does not bring up the question of "separation." Soaked, as most of their compatriots are not, in the cultural and spiritual heritage of their country they draw inspiration from that and from Christian sources freely in the natural way, feeling themselves more than ever a part of their social and political group, for which others may use the word Islam but for which they would use the national word which is in more accord with patriotism and the spirit of the times.

A fourth group quite different from the three described above seems also in part to fit the pattern described in Mr. Riggs' article. This group is composed of dyed-in-the-wool Muhammadans of the old-fashioned type. The leader of this group is a most remarkable man. Deeply versed in the mystic thought and practice of Islam he has now for some years been a devoted student of the Bible. His spiritual growth as a result of this study has been impressive to observe. As he himself said, when he began he felt he should love with genuine warmth only the "true believers." Then he came to know one or two Christian missionaries. To his surprise he saw that they too were believers in the same God of the great prophets, and the circle of his love took them in. With further study his love extended to men of good will of all faiths; and then to what he might consider his own enemies. He told of the shock that came to him, however, when while attending a gathering of Christians in Europe he found them praying for Hitler. At first that seemed like blasphemy. Then he saw that the love of God should lead one to desire to change and help even what appeared to him to be the enemies of God. Now he is bent on a religious education program which will persuade Moslems that the Bible as well as the Koran should be studied. Without fully realizing it himself he is reinterpreting his old faith. He treasures those teachings of the Koran which square with the ethics of Jesus. Just as modern Christians interpret the Old Testament in terms and in the light of the New Testament, hewing to pieces their Agags not in the form of personal enemies but of spiritual temptations and hostile situations, so he, apparently unconsciously, is doing the very same thing with the Koran.

How large his group is no one can say. He meets regularly with perhaps four or five, several of them men of prominence and nation-wide influence, all of them still considering themselves conservative Moslems. On the fringe of his group are some of the young intellectuals of the country, men whose writings are influencing the nation, and men who know something of the New

Testament and who love their Thomas à Kempis and their Pascal.

What do all these illustrations teach? Surely that God works in diverse ways, that spiritual growth, if it is genuine, is slow, and that when men have a chance without prejudice they thirst after the living water. This writer assumes that what Mr. Riggs is striving for is an approach that, while persuading the few, will not antagonize the many, that will prepare soil first and then sow seed where it can bear fruit.

As this writer understands it, Mr. Riggs' article should be understood in the light of a warning against the harm that may be done to the many by an aggressively separationist policy pursued with respect to the comparatively few, and a call to experimentation along new paths where God's spirit seems to be calling. At least it should lead to a new open-mindedness, and to a realization that it is not simply a question of "open conversion from Islam" on the one hand and "secret believers" with their "silent attitude" on the other. There may be a still better way, one that will draw Moslems and Christians together in a common pursuit for truth, and that will break down the prejudice that now obscures the figure of Jesus Christ.

X

"I am full of hope that when God delays in fulfilling our little thoughts, it is to leave Himself room to work out His great ones. And more and more as time goes on I feel that the longer He waits the more we can expect, for the deeper and wider will be the undermining and the greater will be the band of those who will come forth free from their prisonwalls. When one gets hold of that vision one can throw back in the devil's face his taunts over the seemingly wasted years that lie behind us. . . . . .

"It is all so different now. Up to the last year or two it has been a sort of blind faith that we were where God had put us, and that if He meant us to battle on to the end for a handful of souls, we would by His grace fight it out, like David's soldier over the poor little patch of lentils. But it has been dawning on one more and more that God means something much bigger than that for these Mohammedan lands, and that He is actually here and now doing a far greater work than He can as yet let appear on the surface."

—The late Lilias Trotter of Algiers.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror. By Barnette Miller, Professor of History, Wellesley College. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941. x, 226 pp. Harvard Historical Monographs, XVII. $2.00.

In the days when the great Gazi Sultans led the Turks from victory to victory, women counted for nothing in the scheme of empire. But they had their revenge when the Sultans became prisoners in the Seraglio, and now when the Sultans are no more, it is a woman who tells their history better than any princeling of the House of Osman might do. Barnette Miller is steeped in her subject: she has lived and taught in Istanbul; she first visited the Seraglio in 1912 and has been studying it ever since.

The significance of the Palace School escaped both Hammer and Iorga. Ranke with his genius caught a glimpse of it, but it was not sufficiently underlined until Lybyer published his *Government of the Ottoman Empire*. Professor Miller in *Beyond the Sublime Porte* [Yale University Press, 1931], the first volume of her trilogy on the Grand Seraglio, had a chapter on the Palace School, now expanded into a monograph based on an examination of a great bulk of material in Turkish and the European languages, as attested by thirty pages of valuable notes. The Palace School and its ancillaries formed one of the most influential and constructive of all the Ottoman institutions, since from the ranks of its students came dozens of Grand Viziers, many Kapudan Pashas, provincial governors, and other functionaries of the Empire, officers of the Spahis of the Porte, and even holders of the supreme religious degree of Shaikh al-Islâm. As an educational establishment the Palace School is of great interest for its secular character and the quality and content of its training. In its prime it was unlike anything in the Western world—as Busbecq said: " . . . we receive much pleasure and many kinds of service from the well-trained horse, dog, and hawk; but the Turks much more from a well-educated man . . . "

Professor Miller takes up first the genesis of the Palace School, along with a discussion of the probable influence of the ideas of Plato and Niẓâm al-Mulk. The chapter on the buildings in the Seraglio deals mainly with the seventeenth-century first-hand account by the bibulous Pole Bobovi. The author has not been painstaking enough in establishing agreement between her text and the accompanying plans: often reference is made in the text to the wrong plan; once by a slip the Bath of Selim II is said to have been in the rear of the Hall of the Commissariat instead of in the rear of the Hall of the Expeditionary Force.

From the standpoint of educational theory and practice, the

highlights of the book are the chapters dealing with the personnel and organization of the School, the curriculum, and the daily life. One of the striking features of the School was the democratic spirit pervading its operation—to quote Busbecq again: " . . . [the Turks] do not believe that high qualities are either natural or hereditary . . . but that they are partly the gift of God, and partly the result of good training, great industry, and unwearied zeal . . . Among the Turks, therefore, honours, high posts, and judgeships are the rewards of great ability and good service. If a man be dishonest, or lazy, or careless, he remains at the bottom of the ladder, an object of contempt . . . " Few schools have ever provided their students with such rigorous and well-rounded training. Many parallels with American educational ideals might be found in the emphasis on intensive study in the humanities, on improvement of the physique and participation in competitive sports, and on vocational training for each student, no matter how high an office might await him. Unfortunately, however, perhaps the best example in modern times of such thoroughgoing intellectual, physical, and ideological discipline for future leaders of the state is the Ordensburg of Hitlerite Germany.

In the first chapter the Turkish historian Ata is quoted as saying that during the reign of the Conqueror courses were given "in nomadic life and civilization." No light is shed on this statement in the chapter on the curriculum, and one is left with his curiosity unsatisfied, wondering whether the ideas of Ibn Khaldûn made any impression on the minds of the men who became the rulers of the Empire.

Although transliteration from Old Turkish is perplexing because of the gulf between spelling and pronunciation, some of the author's vagaries might have been avoided. If one is going to Turkicize the Arabic 'Uthmân into Osman, why not use Mehmed for Muḥammad? As a matter of fact, the author does use both forms, sometimes side by side, as well as Mehemet [for which I hold no brief]. *Khas Oda* in the early part of the book becomes *hass oda* later on. The title of a guidebook is given as *Le Palais de Topkapou* and *Le Palais de Top Qapu* on the same page, while in the text the Cannon Gate appears on occasion as Topqapu. The author never quite makes up her mind whether she prefers "dj" or "j" for the letter *"jîm."* The name Hibat Allâh [the Gift of God] is written with an extra syllable. Mustafa III [not IV] reigned 1757-1774 [not 1754-1794].

The term *masse d'armes*, which Professor Miller hesitates to translate, means simply mace, as will be seen by reference to d'Ohsson, IV, 187, and Redhouse under *ṭûpûz*, pronounced *topuz*. To the comments on the semantic development of *ajemi* [Arabic *'ajamî*] we might add that in Arabic the word originally meant any non-Arab, barbarian in his inability to pronounce Arabic properly; then it came to be used specifically for a Persian, the sense borrowed by the Turks, who later restored something of the flavor of the original meaning.

The final chapter traces the decline of the Palace School, which lost its efficiency more slowly than many other Ottoman institutions. As an indication that the School continued until late

in the eighteenth century to be successful in certain respects the author might have described the career of the poet Enderuni Fazil Bey. Fazil [Fâḍil], a grandson of the lively octogenarian Shaikh Ẓâhir Âl 'Umar, Prince of Acre, was captured by the great Turkish admiral, Gazi Hasan Pasha Jezairli, the Crocodile of the Sea of Battles, and brought to Constantinople, where he was enrolled in the Palace School. His stay there so changed him that, in the words of E. J. W. Gibb, "though . . . an Arab by birth, he felt as a Turk and wrote as a Turk; he depreciates his Syrian birthplace just as a native Turk might; and when he speaks about the Russians it is with the hatred engendered by centuries of wrongs." But with the reign of Mahmud II [1808-1839] the School ceased to be of any consequence to the Empire at large.

Princeton, New Jersey GEORGE S. RENTZ.

Essays on Maimonides—An Octocentennial Volume. Edited by Salo Wittmayer Baron, Columbia University Press, New York, 1941. pp. 316. $3.75.

This volume of interesting and valuable essays goes back to Columbia University's celebration of the eight-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Moses Maimonides, who was born at Cordova, March 30th, 1135. Even though the volume has appeared six years after that celebration, we are grateful that the book has been published.

The first chapter, *The Eight-Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Moses Maimonides* contains an introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler, which is followed by Richard McKeon's article on *Moses Maimonides, the Philosopher.* McKeon remarks (7): "The thought of Maimonides presents a double aspect, which may be found in many of the great philosophies of men of all faiths. The wisdom and science which he undertook to teach such men as were prepared to understand was, according to him, as old as Judaism; it was not difficult for him to find the same wisdom and science in the prophets and the sages, and even in the philosophers of Greece and Islam and Christendom. Yet what he taught he properly said he had learned from no master; he had arrived at it by no divine inspiration, but by rational investigation. The concern of philosophy is with timeless truths, but the philosopher must find them in time and may at any time or moment be mistaken." Then reference is made to Maimonides' influence upon Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan thought.

Richard Gottheil's contribution, *Maimonides the Scientist,* concludes (12) with a quotation from the Guide to the Perplexed: "It is our great advantage that man who knows his station should not imagine that the whole universe exists for him alone."

The fourth article of Chapter I, *Maimonides, the Leader and Lawgiver,* is by the editor of the volume. Here (12-13) stress is laid upon "the unity of the human mind" and "the persistence of the undying springs of human solidarity."

Chapter II, by Etienne Gilson of the Sorbonne, *Homage to Maimonides,* is a lecture which was delivered in Paris. He notes that the Christian Middle Ages owe to Maimonides a great deal in his

example and the encouragement given by his admirable intellectual integrity. Gilson warns against the widespread prejudice that progress of knowledge is identical with human progress, and in referring to a student with a modern textbook, says (34-35): "Maimonides knew very little of the facts of our world, but he possessed the most important thing besides knowledge, namely the true quality of the knowing mind and the knowledge of how to utilize available information." He concludes that no sage, philosopher, or saint could propose a nobler formula for living than that of Maimonides: to be "with our heart constantly near God, even whilst our body is in the society of men."

In Chapter III Leo Strauss discusses the *Literary Character of the Guide for the Perplexed.* He points out that no philosophic topic of any kind is, as such, the subject matter of the *Guide* and asserts that the *Guide* is "under no circumstances a philosophic book." He considers (45) "the safest course will be to limit the description of the *Guide* to the statement that it is a book devoted to the explanation of the secret teaching of the Bible." He notes that Maimonides read the Torah as the work of a single author, who is God himself rather than Moses. Accordingly Maimonides regarded every word of the Torah as of divine origin and consequently of the greatest importance. Strauss shows (71) that Maimonides teaches the truth not plainly, but secretly. In other words, Maimonides reveals the truth to learned men who can understand, but at the same time he hides it from the vulgar. "Consequently, Maimonides makes contradictory statements about all important subjects; he reveals the truth by stating it, and hides it by contradicting it." The writer concludes: "The *Mishneh Torah* is primarily addressed to the general run of men, while the *Guide* is addressed to the small number of people who are able to understand by themselves."

Chapter IV by Joshua Finkel is devoted to *Maimonides' Treatise on Resurrection* and is dedicated to Prof. Duncan B. Macdonald. This chapter is a comparative study and is of importance to the Christian theologian; here Arabian and Jewish doctrines of the resurrection are considered.

In Chapter V (123-125) Dr. Gottheil presents the text with translation of a fragment from the Genizah of Cairo; it is a *Responsum* of Maimonides, and the original is in his handwriting.

Chapter VI, *the Economic Views of Maimonides* by the editor, is the longest in the book (127-264). While the author lays no claim to being exhaustive, the reader can hardly expect more from him in a volume of this nature.

The seventh and final chapter by Max Meyerhof, a physician of Cairo, discusses the *Medical Work of Maimonides.* It appears that Maimonides acquired his knowledge of medicine during the seven years while his family sojourned in Fez (c. A.D. 1158-1165). Simultaneously with his theological and philosophical studies he was an eager reader of old medical writers. Meyerhof admits that as a medical writer he was less original and less a pioneer than in his other works. His ten medical treatises with the brief comments are listed. The chapter concludes with an appendix of brief

translations from the medical works of the great Jewish physician. This chapter has a bibliography of three and one half pages. It is to be regretted that the other articles are not similarly supplied; the usefulness of the volume would have been considerably increased, if the major articles had been provided with bibliographies.

This volume of popular essays will be very useful to the layman, and it also serves as an introduction to the study of the great Jewish-Arabic savant.

Princeton Theological Seminary. HENRY S. GEHMAN.

East and West. By René Guénon; translated by Wm. Massey. Luzac and Co., 46 Great Russell St., London, W.C. 1, 1941. pp. 257. 6 shillings.

This is indeed a verbose book, which deals in many vague generalities and abounds with numerous assertions made according to the fancy of the author. Guénon takes a very pessimistic, if not contemptuous, view of Western culture, science, philosophy, scholarship, and education, and thinks that Westerners are definitely unamenable to intellectuality. He refers to the sentimentalism of the West, and he considers "moralism" as one of the most noticeable symptoms of the preponderance acquired by sentimentality. He says (p. 96): "A moral code, whatever foundation is given to it, and whatever importance is attributed to it, is not and cannot be anything more than a rule of action."

The author maintains that all attempts which so far have been made to bring East and West together, have been undertaken in the interests of the western outlook, and consequently have failed. He asserts that modern civilization suffers from lack of principles. Tradition and principles are practically identified, and Guénon would find the West at its best in the Middle Ages. To him a return to tradition and a return to principles are in reality just one and the same thing.

Guénon thinks (p. 227) that "the first step towards rousing western intellectuality from its slumber must be the study of the doctrines of the East"; he goes to India as the best representative. In the East, he maintains (p. 238), "pure intellectual knowledge may be got." The western reader, who is trained in scholarship, cannot help becoming impatient with the author and at times feeling like throwing the book down in disgust. While we, as Guénon rightly does, also deplore the materialism of the West, it is evident that we cannot cast away progress and remove opportunity for personal initiative. It is not the use, but the abuse of the knowledge of scientific principles that leads to the destruction of civilization.

Readers of this journal may be interested in his references to Islam. He considers Islamic civilization as the one that comes in many ways nearest to the European civilization of the Middle Ages. He sees in Islam certain western influences, and thinks that Islamic civilization with its esoteric and exoteric aspects comes nearest to what a traditional western civilization would be. Guénon connects (p. 122) Judaism with the West, since it "has never exerted any influence except in a westerly direction"; he thinks that it may even

have helped somewhat towards forming the modern mentality in general. He would favour (p. 183) giving back to Catholicism the pre-eminence it had before the Reformation, but nowhere does he discuss the principles of Christianity.

Apparently the author is content to make broad statements about the message of the East for the West without taking the reader into his confidence, or being specific, or giving clear-cut principles; the reader certainly has a right to expect some definite examples to prove the writer's position. All along we can ask: "Why does Guénon not give Christianity any consideration as being able to bring the East and the West together?" In conclusion, the book hardly serves any useful purpose, and as regards the solution of the difficulty of bringing the East and the West together, it might as well not have been written.

Princeton Theological Seminary. HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Decisive Movements in the History of Islam. By Muhammad Abdullah Enan., M. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore, India. pp. 294. Rs. 4-8.

This is a very laudable attempt on the part of an Egyptian Moslem to deal with early decisive conflicts between Islam and Christendom, especially on the field of battle. The period covered is from the rise of Islam to the end of the Crusades. This story occupies one half of the volume, which is an English translation of the second Arabic edition printed at Cairo in 1940.

The other part (pp. 139-239) consists of Miscellaneous Studies on Diplomacy in Islam, Slavery in the middle ages, Chivalry, the Fall of Granada, Moorish civilization, a comparison of the travels of Marco Polo and those of his successor and superior, Ibn Batuta. These studies are far more interesting than the early part of the volume and are highly creditable in matter and style. The author, formerly of the Egyptian Bar, is Assistant Director of the Press Department in the Ministry of the Interior, Cairo, and has written earlier Arabic works on the Moors of Spain, Ibn Khaldun, etc. He is indebted to careful study of Arabic sources and the standard works of Gibbon, Lane-Poole, Muir, Dozy, Goldziher and other writers on this period of the history of Islam. The chapter on the Battle of Tours is an excellent illustration of the author's fairness and historic insight. He gives the story of the nine-day struggle and the victory under Carl Martel, as told by Christian chroniclers, and then continues: "We now come to the Moslem version. The Moslem historians are either reticent on this great battle or brief. We must at the outset say that the battle of Tours is known in Islamic history as the battle of Al-Balat or Balat al-Shuhada (The Pavement of the Martyrs) on account of the number of distinguished Moslems and sub-companions who fell in it. This very appellation, the reserve of the Moslem chronicle, and the tone of the few details relating to this battle, prove that the Moslem historians realized the gravity of this decisive encounter between Islam and Christendom and the enormity of the disaster which befell Islam in the plains of Tours. The religious character of the battle is proved by the Islamic legend pretending that *al-*

azan (call to prayer) was for long ages heard in the Pavement of the Martyrs. The reserve of the Moslem historians in this matter could be explained by the fact that they were reluctant to deal at length with this great calamity to Islam, or to enter into its painful details, and therefore limited themselves to short references."

The ninth century was the age of Moslem naval supremacy. The Mediterranean became an Arab lake and "for two centuries Moslem Naval expeditions spread terror on the Christian shores and ports." Crete, Sicily, Cyprus and other groups of islands were conquered and occupied, for "the Moslem seamen were true colonists." Chapter seven tells of the Crusades, but without bitterness and with insight into their deeper causes and later effects. The author believes that "the Crusades were not a sudden eruption caused by the stories of the discontented pilgrims or the appeal of Peter the hermit; but it was the conclusion or the climax of the great combat which had been raging for four centuries between Islam and Christendom. The field of this battle was in Europe till the eleventh century, when it was removed by the Crusades to Asia. If we compare the events of these two ages we can notice that Christianity had, for some time, in Asia, some of the characteristics Islam presented in Europe and, in a sense, had the same destinies. Islam was settled in Spain where it established principalities and kingdoms. The Christians did the same in Asia; they conquered Syria and founded the Latin Kingdom and some other small principalities, and their position there, with regard to the Moslems, was similar, in some respects, to that of the Moslems in Spain with regard to the Christians. In other words, the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem in the East was somewhat similar to that of the Moslem Kingdom of Granada in the West."

The Crusades, however, "were for the European nations the cradle of moral unity." But the gain of western civilization came rather "from the cradle of peace—in the plains of Andalusia and Sicily where Islam and Christianity met cordially and cooperated with understanding."

With the exception of the first chapter, which gives an utterly inadequate account of Mohammed and the rise of Islam, this book can be warmly commended. Unfortunately the translator or the printer has often been careless of English idiom.

S. M. Zwemer.

The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid. By Burhan Ahmad Faruqi, with a Foreword by Dr. Syed Zafarul Hasan. Lahore, Muhammad Ashraf, 1940. pp. xii, 192. Rs. 3.

It is curious that while we have reasonably good accounts available of the external history of Islam in India, very little has been done to interpret the development of thought in Indian Islam, save in so far as this has found expression in eccentric movements. It is not that there is a dearth of material, for the MSS. collections in Indian libraries are very rich, but hitherto there has been little interest in this subject, and Indian Muslim students have been attracted to other fields. It is therefore a pleasure to welcome this

introductory study on the thought of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī (971-1034 A.H. = 1563-1624 A.D.), the self-styled Renewer of Islam for the Second Millenium (*Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī*), who vigorously attacked the pantheistic Sufism of Ibn al-'Arabī in the interests of orthodox Islam, and several of whose Persian writings have been lithographed and circulated in India, though he is practically unknown in the Muslim Arabic-speaking lands.

The author is a young Muslim scholar of the Aligarh University, who has evidently devoted much attention to the works of Sirhindī, and from the form of this work one suspects that it represents his academic Thesis. The weakness of his Arabic somewhat mars an otherwise good presentation of his material, and it is a pity that the work was not read before printing by someone who could have corrected the numerous mistakes in English diction.

Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī is a pure product of Indian Islam, and would be a figure of interest to us if for no other reason than that he is said to have refused to be drawn into the eclectic circle around the great Akbar. His training in Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, in Fiqh and Tawḥīd, was at such Indian centres as Agra and Delhi, and he was a great joiner of Dervish Orders, having been initiated into the Chishtiyya, the Suhrawardiyya and the Naqshbandiyya Orders. Dr. Burhān Aḥmad is inclined to take seriously the usual exaggerations with which the official biography of the Shaikh is padded, and makes high claims for the influence which his teaching exerted on subsequent Islamic thought in India, though here one hesitates to accept his judgment.

The interest of the present work is in Sirhindī's controversy with the pantheistic Sufi philosophy as exemplified in the work of Ibn al-'Arabī, in the process of which controversy, the author would have us believe, the Shaikh worked out a characteristic doctrine of Tawḥīd. To introduce this, he gives us an unfortunate introductory chapter on the "Unity of the World-Principle," which reads exactly like a struggling sophomore's Examination essay, in which he tries to make the best of such fragments as he can remember from the courses he took on the History of Philosophy. The backbone of the book, however, is chapter I, which deals in its first part with Sirhindī's criticism of Ibn al-'Arabī's doctrine of *Waḥdatu'l-Wujūd,* and in the second part with Sirhindī's alternative doctrine. At the outset it is clear that neither Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī nor his modern expositor have understood Ibn al-'Arabī's doctrine. For the most part the Shaikh's objections follow the well-known lines of Ibn Taimiyya and other opponents of Ibn al-'Arabī. His peculiarity is that he pretends that his refutation of the doctrine is based primarily not on rational argumentation but on mystic experience. Dr. Burhān Aḥmad makes a great point of this, but it is pure sophistry on the Shaikh's part. He claims that in mystic experience he himself advanced beyond the stage of *waḥdatu'l-wujūd* to the stage of *ẓilliyya,* and then beyond this to the stage of *'abdiyya.* There is not the faintest suggestion, however, as to what the nature of the experience was at these new stages or during the process of attaining them. In fact the Shaikh's whole argument is a purely rational

one, following step by step the well-known lines of criticism of pantheistic Sufism in the interests of orthodoxy, and we are given not the slightest illumination of an actual religious experience at some other level. The mystic experience dealt with by Ibn al-'Arabī is a well-known one, which can be abundantly illustrated from the writings of other mystics, Islamic, Christian and pre-Christian, but what is the experience of these supposed further stages? So far as Sirhindī's account goes, they are nothing more than two counters in a logical argument in defence of orthodoxy, and one is left with the feeling that the Shaikh's knowledge of mysticism, indeed, is purely external, the knowledge of one who has read of it in books, not of one who has himself trodden the way. In passing, it may be observed that great numbers of people who have joined various Dervish Orders, and perhaps become prominent therein, are in the literature referred to as great mystics, whereas their actual mystic experience, as we would understand it, would seem to have been *nil:* the Dervish cap no more makes a mystic then the habit makes a monk.

The one thing of importance is Sirhindī's development of his own doctrine of *Tawḥīd,* where, as our author points out, he followed the guidance of al-Māturīdī rather than that of al-Ash'arī. Unfortunately his thought is very confused on this point, as Shāh Walī-Ullāh had already observed, and he even uses the decisive term *ẓill* in at least three different senses, so that with the material available it is almost impossible to see what his idea really was. Dr. Burhān Aḥmad labors at this, but it is a matter that needs further exploration, and he would do a great service if he would make available some extended statement of his author's positions.

Actually the most interesting part of the work is Chapter II, on the "Reception of the Mujaddid's Conception of Tawḥīd," in which he gives us some account of the later writings of Indian Muslims both in criticism and in defence of Sirhindī's views.

A word of appreciation should be said of the excellence of the printing and production of the work by the firm of Mḥd Ashraf at Lahore, whose efforts at turning out finely produced books are worthy of the highest commendation.

Columbia University,
New York City. ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The Revolution in Christian Missions. By Roy L. Smith. New York, Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. pp. 223. $1.75.

The author is a Methodist preacher and journalist, widely known as editor of *The Christian Advocate.* Within the compass of two hundred pages he attempts a large task. His book is a plea for missions and tells the story of the Golden Age of Missions, the Age of Doubt, the Doors that Are Closing, speaks of the relation of Christianity to Democracy, discusses the import of the Great Commission and sketches a new Missionary Program.

With so ambitious a repertoire, covering nineteen centuries and all the churches, one could not expect perfect accuracy and fullness of statement. Even if we excuse journalistic style and remember that the chapters were given as lectures, a cursory reading makes one

furiously to think. No one acquainted with the history of religion and Christian missions can help putting question marks on the margin of some statements: "Every great living religion is missionary by nature." (How about Hinduism?) "The sole result of persecution has always been the deepening of convictions and the lighting of new fires of enthusiasm." (Was this true of the Oriental Churches when Islam swept the Near East?)

Of the pioneer missionaries we read, "Almost no attempt was made to relate the Christian to social or political issues." "It probably never entered the minds of one of these boys that they had any responsibility for correcting . . . . social abuses." (Judson, Carey, Livingstone, Verbeck). The first missionaries "were trained but they were not matured." "There was a certain fanatical enthusiasm which was commendable . . . . but nowhere in the Christian movement of that day was there any interest in laying siege to entrenched social wrongs or economic abuses of long standing." The early missionaries were staunch theologians and preached "about a Saviour who had by his own death provided full and complete atonement . . . . but almost no mention was made of the fact that a child of divinity has certain rights which all other human beings are bound to respect. That idea was to come many years afterward as the deeper meaning of the Kingdom began to dawn on Christendom." On the contrary, Dr. James Dennis shows (*Christian Missions and Social Progress*) that on every mission field from the days of Carey they promoted temperance, opposed the opium traffic, checked gambling, established standards of hygiene and purity, of industry and frugality, elevated womanhood, restrained anti-social customs, abolished cannibalism, human sacrifice and cruelty, organized famine relief, improved agriculture, checked tribal wars and changed even the social structure of a society.

Here we read that "Because they thought themselves theologians they seldom risked their welcome by taking sides with the underprivileged or the exploited." Shades of Livingstone and Chalmers! "The lands into which the early missionaries went were . . . . almost without exception under white political domination." (E.g., China, Japan, Syria, Turkey, the South Sea Islands and Africa north of the Zambesi!)

After the Golden Age of Missions there was a time of disillusionment, and missions suffered. Here the author is at his best. He describes with trenchant pen the post-war hysteria, the slump in missions, "the deflation of liberalism," the spirit of secularism, the collapse of the Inter-Church World Movement, and the "serious blow delivered at the missionary enterprise by the publication of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry in 1932." "Missionary giving began to dry up at the source."

The author is an excellent diagnostician of the Age of Doubt. His summary of the causes that closed doors in Russia, Turkey and Japan, as well as his statement that western civilization lost face through western aggression is excellent. But the author speaks of Turks changing their *Syriac* alphabet to Roman! (p. 99) and

in the entire volume there is no mention of Islam as part of the missionary problem in the new day. The emphasis is on social and economic problems rather than on the religions that still dominate the wide world. He believes that even in the first century "the Christian faith was not thought of as a set of doctrines the acceptance of which would open the doors of heaven . . . . There is little in Jesus' teachings about the life that is to come following death." (How about most of His parables and the final discourses in Matthew and John?)

There is a strange absence of Bible references, no authorities whatever are quoted and there is no bibliography. Many of the statements are so striking and vivid that they deserved documentation.

Our chief criticism of this book, however, is its weak Christology or, shall we say, theology? The new missionary program advocated is that of the Social Gospel. It is broader than it is deep. The missionary motive and passion and aim can only be learned at Calvary. And when the author stands *there* what does he see? "The greatest compliment that humanity has ever been paid came from the cross when, as Jesus hung between the two thieves with the jeering of the crowd clamoring in his ears, he looked down at the foot of the cross and saw three women and one young man in whom the idea and dream of the Kingdom had taken root and cried out, 'It is finished.' He was perfectly sure that once his idea of the Kingdom was planted in four human lives, it would never thereafter perish. Its victory was inevitable." (p. 166).

If the new missionary problems in the new missionary dimensions (which the author believes include the economic, social, industrial and political issues of the whole world) are to be solved with this kind of humanistic technique, we can well understand how "The old day of the Prince Albert coat on the cannibal islands" is over and "the new day of the Christian engineer of human affairs is about to begin." But will this usher in a new Golden Age of Missions like that when men believed the Bible, wrestled in prayer, poured out their lives and preached redemption from sin, and life eternal, through Jesus Christ our Lord?

New York City S. M. Zwemer.

The Law of War and Peace in Islam. A Study in Muslim International Law. By Majid Khadduri, Ph. D. Luzac & Co., London, 1941. pp. 132. 8 shillings.

Many European writers have studied the subject discussed in this timely and scholarly volume, which must not be judged by its size. Juynboll, Snouck Hurgronje and Obbink have written extensively on the Holy War and a recent article by Dr. Edward J. Jurji appeared in our quarterly on this very subject, which is always pertinent for, as Dr. Macdonald stated, "Islam must be completely made over before the doctrine of Jihad can be eliminated."

The present study is compact, objective and well documented but it is limited to the earliest centuries of Islam: "The following

pages are an attempt to study the theory and practice of Muslim law with regard to non-Muslim communities as revealed in the *Qurān, Hadīth* and the writing of the Muslim jurist-theologians. This study, however, does not cover the whole period of Islām; it is rather confined to the first four centuries of the Islamic era."

The author is Assistant Professor at the Higher Teachers College, Baghdad, and he was for some time a fellow in International Relations at the University of Chicago. The book consists of three parts; an introductory section on The Nature and Sources of Muslim Law; then follows a longer section on Jihad or the Law of War, and the third part—pp. 75-131—deals with the Law of Peace, including the early Moslem idea of treaty, arbitration, and the status of non-Moslems in an Islamic state. There is a concluding section, which is too brief, on Muslim Law and International Law.

Speaking of the nature of the Muslim system of law, the author agrees that it has divine sanction. The sole source of divine law is Allah. Islam began as a church state. The different schools of Fikh disagree in the application of law but not in its principles.

In dealing with war for the faith, *jihad,* the author states that there is an essential difference between the early history of Christianity and that of Islam. "Apart from the traditional crusaders' prejudices against Islam which have had their influence on some popular writers, the identification of Islam with violence was a result of contrasting Islam with Christianity. That was an erroneous way of approaching the subject of the propagation of Islam. For Christianity, in its early history, did not aim at setting up a state, while Islam from the very beginning was a politico-religious institution. It was natural therefore that violent as well as peaceful means were employed for the expansion of the Islamic state and for the spread of Islam."

He describes different types of Jihad and the various military methods employed, as well as the status of person and property in war. In the latter part, which deals with the Law of Peace, we have exceedingly valuable material in quotations from the early treaties made with Jews and Christians and the terms on which they were allowed to live peaceably under Islamic domination.

A bibliography of six pages includes the standard encyclopedias, original Arabic sources and many secondary works as well as articles in magazines. There is no reference to the important work of H. T. Obbink, Leyden, 1891, *De Heilige Oorlog,* nor to my special study on The Law of Apostasy in Islam. Whether these two features of early Islam are of the essence of the faith or whether they will be gradually eliminated is not discussed. Altogether, this is a most valuable handbook and gives evidence of thorough study.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Al-Iklīl (al-Juz' al-thāmin). By al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad al-Hamdāni. Edited with linguistic, geographic and historic notes, by Nabih Amin Faris. Princeton University Press, 1940. pp. 8, 20, 247. $5.00.

In 1938 Nabih Amin Faris, Research Associate in Oriental Languages and Curator of Arabic and Islamic MSS. at Princeton

University, published a somewhat abridged English translation of the Eighth Book of al-Hamdāni's *Iklīl* under the title "The Antiquities of South Arabia." In a short review of this book in The Moslem World, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, July 1939, pp. 295-97, I expressed the hope that Dr. Faris would be able to carry out his announced (p. 6) intention of publishing the entire Arabic text and thus give us "a sound critical edition" of this interesting monograph on the old castles of the Yaman. The need of such an edition cannot be contested, since the *editio princeps* of D. H. Müller is only partial and the complete edition of Anastās al-Kirmili, published in 1931 at Baghdad, leaves a great deal to be desired.

One cannot help admiring the energy of Dr. Faris, who after an interval of only two and a half years has been able to see through the press his critical edition, aided by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. In my opinion it would have been wiser to put off the publication for some time. Good Arabic texts generally cannot be prepared in haste, especially when the difficulties are so numerous. In the review just referred to I had to make some reservations as to the correctness of certain details, though there was no space for a more thorough criticism. This work has been done by the eminent Italian scholar, G. Levi Della Vida, now Professor at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, who has published in "Orientalia" IX (1940), pp. 160-73, a very instructive review of Faris's translation. It seems that the editor has utilized to some extent this positive and methodically important criticism with its numerous emendations.

As to the rest, Faris unfortunately seems to have in the main settled down to the results at which he had arrived at the time of his translation. At any rate there are few traces of any progress in the understanding of difficult passages or identification of places and persons. Apart from the fuller, though not altogether complete, critical apparatus, the commentary has remained about the same, with rather elementary and superficial references to well known authorities. While blaming Father Anastās for making "little attempt either to determine the names of persons and places or to refer to any of the sources (?) or classical Arabic works" Faris himself can justly be submitted to the same criticism. The dependence on al-Kirmili, pointed out by Della Vida, remains quite evident, especially in the adopting of some very improbable conjectures, *e.g.*, 4, 5 *haraġat Ġumdān* but immediately after *ḥart Ġ.* (for *ḥarrat Ġ.*); 6, 7 *aḍ-ḍirizz* "stones!" (Müller: *aḍ-ḍarar* "das Unglück"); 6. 11f. *bi-'ukar al-ḥaḍīḍ* (voc. of al-Kirmili) "at the perigee" instead of *bi-'aktar al-ḥiṣaṣ* (Müller: "in den meisten Theilen"), cf. line 15 *'akṯar ḥiṣaṣ;* 11, 9 *yatīmiyya* (sic! *yatīma* in al-Kirm.) is a mere conjecture. As a whole this edition is inferior to that of Müller and hardly superior to the work of al-Kirmili, which in spite of many shortcomings is usually correct in its statements and contains valuable material in the notes.

"For the final establishment of numerous passages we must however set our hope in the discovery of a good and reliable MS." —when I wrote these words it did not occur to me that I should very soon have the satisfaction of finding in the Ambrosial Library

a MS., which, though containing only extracts from the eighth book, presents an independent text, which in most cases is a good deal better than the vulgate text of the rest of the MSS. I shall try to give in the near future some account of this new textual tradition in a paper, where also the edition of Dr. Faris will be taken into consideration.

To conclude, the editor deserves our thanks for having made this part of the famous *Iklīl* more easily accessible to the students of Arabic, though he would have done better to follow my advice and "extend the study of special South-Arabic literature" after the way of another Oriental scholar, Aẓimmuddin Aḥmad, whose edition of the extracts from the lexicographer Našwān can serve as a model for similar enterprises.

Uppsala. O. Löfgren.

Woman in Islam. By V. R. and L. Bevan Jones. Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow and London, The Carey Press. 1941. pp. 455. 6s.

The Reverend and Mrs. L. Bevan Jones of the Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies, Aligarh, are well qualified to present a study of Woman in Islam, and their latest volume, with its accompanying supplement, "The Approach to Muslim Women," meets a real need among workers with Muslim women, particularly in India. The authors state that the book is "a manual of information for the women of the Church of Christ in India, prepared with the hope that the reading of it will quicken in them an intelligent interest in and genuine sympathy for the Muslim women of this country." This the book unquestionably does. It is, in fact, an admirable text book on this subject and could be studied with profit by every Christian woman working among Muslims.

Though intended primarily for the use of Christian workers among Muslims in India, this work can be of great value to such workers elsewhere in the Muslim world, for though Islam has been affected by the religions, customs and laws of India, as of every other land where it has gained a foothold, it is so self-contained and dominant a program of life that it has remained essentially unchanged everywhere. And it has been destined in turn seriously to affect all peoples who have come into contact with it.

The book is well arranged in three sections. Section I deals with the important subject of the background from which Islam emanated. The authors neglect to mention in this section the fact that there were living among the Arab tribes at the time of Muhammad some Christians and Jews, the indelible marks of whose religions are evident in the teachings of Islam. Perhaps this omission is deliberate, for they are alluded to briefly in Section III.

Section II is a comprehensive consideration of the social life of the Muslim woman in India today, depicting the superstition, ignorance and squalor which accompanies Islam, fostered and nurtured as they are by the attitude of fatalism inherent in this religion. Even the status of the privileged upper class woman is

not enviable. Mr. and Mrs. Jones state that though Christian education is changing the plight of all women, statistics from Bengal show that "only 2% of the boys and 2.5% of the girls who enter primary schools complete the course. 75% of the girls cease attending before the end of the first year, and nearly all girls fail to derive any material value from attendance at school."

Nevertheless, modern education is bringing a new outlook and a few leaders are rising to take part even in the all-India Women's Conference, though most emphasis is still placed upon the all-India Muslim Women's Association.

Muslim marriage laws are traced back to pre-Islamic times with the assertion that "Muhammad did not formulate new laws, but radically reformed those he found, and certainly improved the lot of women." (The authors do not entirely agree with those defenders of Islam who claim that the state of women before Islam was utterly barbaric.) There follows then a careful study of the various problems involved in the customs of betrothal, child-marriage, trial marriage, polygamy and divorce, with comments upon the various laws regarding each. This careful reference to and quotation of the Koran which the authors use throughout the book should prove most helpful to the reader who is unfamiliar with the origin of much that is confusing in Islam.

Parda, the present system of seclusion and the use of the veil are considered to be "out of all proportion to any legislation affecting these matters by Muhammad himself." But the more orthodox women would rather endure any wrong than face change, believing as they do that Muhammad enjoined all in the Koran in accordance with God's command.

The chapter on Rights and the Legal Status of Women is carefully written to explain the Koranic law, while quoting many early and modern commentators on this subject.

Section III which has to do with religious life of Muslim women, reveals not only the author's wide knowledge of the laws and customs prevalent among Muslims, but also their deep insight into the lives affected by these teachings. In no chapters is this more evident than in those on Spirits and Exorcism and Charms and Divinations.

The information contained in the last chapter, explaining the law of Apostasy as it applies to women, is essential to all who would bring Muslim women to Christ. And it is in this chapter than one confronts, through the sympathetic and scholarly minds of the authors, the greatest of the obstacles which Islam presents to Christian workers among Muslims everywhere. To understand this problem as the authors evidently do is also to have made great progress in appreciating the complex difficulties which a Muslim convert to Christianity must face.

New York City MABEL H. ERDMAN.

The Approach to Muslim Women. (A Supplement to Woman in Islam). By V. R. and L. Bevan Jones. 8 annas.

In the volume on Woman in Islam the authors state that "if it is difficult for a European to give an Indian an adequate idea of

the life of women in the west, it goes without saying that the westerner who sets out to describe the general life of Muslim women in the sub-continent of India is attempting an almost impossible task."

Yet Mr. and Mrs. Jones, having so admirably accomplished that "almost impossible task," supplement it with a study of the Approach to Muslim Women in which they cite the home, the school and the church as forces through which Christians may work for Muslims, while not neglecting to appreciate and work through those teachings in Islam which best provide bases for Christian teaching.

In the seventy-eight pages of this booklet there is not only advice to missionaries, but a short guide for the instruction of Bible women, tracts and literature for Muslim women from the Christian point of view, and also a list of some available Muslim literature for women. The tracts use the dialogue method to convey information regarding Christian faith and practice as opposed to Islam; whereas the Guide for Bible Women merely states the Christian and Muslim views with regard to God, Jesus Christ, Scripture, Sin and Salvation.

The booklet, like the larger volume which it supplements, is shot through with the light of the authors' knowledge of the vast problems confronting Christian workers among Muslims in India.

MABEL H. ERDMAN.

The Folklore of Palestine. By Barbara M. Bowen. The Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Mich. $1.00.
Sacred Sites in the Lands of the Bible. By Barbara M. Bowen. The same publishers and the same price.

The perennial thirst for legends and pictures from the Holy Land may in these little books find at least temporary satisfaction. The titles truly describe the contents; may the author's example be often followed in this matter! The tales in some cases go back to old Muslim traditions or to the lore of the Jewish *midrashim,* and in many cases they are the local anecdotes, even those which seem to have come spontaneously from some dragoman's ready tongue. To a westerner there is a curious romance in such little stories and descriptions, for they are so different from the tales which we heard as children. Yet it can hardly be said that in these books we approach the mind of the Palestinian. Frequently we are reminded of the descriptions which the less trustworthy dragoman relates, tongue in cheek, to the generously gullible. And the reader who loves the Arab is embarrassed for him in the repeated references to "the natives," as if in that Palestinian world the cultured and the uncouth were essentially the same.

Hartford, Conn. MOSES BAILEY.

The Doctor Takes a Holiday. By Mary McKibben-Harper, M. D. The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1941. pp. 349. $2.50.

This is a readable, informative, rapid-fire travelogue of France, Palestine, Egypt, India, Malaysia, China and Japan, by an American woman physician. It is the observations of a mature, genial, sympa-

thetic person, who has historical and cultural background and a real interest in the people and problems of the lands she visits. Happily, she makes no claim to knowing all about the people or answering all the problems. This is commendable restraint for an American traveler. Though it packs in a considerable array of discriminating historical and modern facts, particularly on the Asiatic countries visited, the book, as a picture of any one country or people, is necessarily sketchy and spotty. She does supply some good correctives for extreme writers on India.

The medical phase of her contacts, including a chapter on Chinese medicine, is of interest and is quite within proportion for the lay reader. Altogether the author really gets in a good deal within 350 pages. And anyone who wishes concise, sensible, vigorous side-lights on the countries included could go farther and fare worse.

E. M. Dodd.

The Crescent in the Land of the Rising Sun. By M. Abdul Aziz. Luzac & Co., London, agents. pp. 155. 21 sh.

This is an extraordinary book. It is by the former President of the All-India Moslem League and introduces us to the small group of alien Moslems residing in Japan. Bernard Shaw, whose portrait shares honor with that of the author, writes a letter of commendation which, from its contents, would indicate a very casual reading. When the first Japanese mosque was opened at Kobe in 1935, the Indian author was present and made the most of publicity. This book is the result. It has sixteen illustrations, some observations on Japan and its agricultural and social backwardness (pp. 26-54), four public addresses and some superficial remarks on Islam in the Near East (pp. 73-142). This leaves exactly fourteen pages on the Present Islamic Situation in Japan. From this chapter we learn: Islam is not a recognized religion in Japan; the total number of Moslems in all Japan is 600, most of whom are Turks and ex-Russians; a Tokyo Islam-Order was founded in 1924 but opposed by a rival Moslem party in 1933; there has been open strife between the Indian and Turko-Russian factions; the total number of real Japanese-born Moslems is three or four; the Moslem community has a school, a printing office and a burial ground. Neither the efforts of preachers nor literature has had much result among the Japanese. The author deserves our sympathy for he seems to have done his utmost.

"No mission can succeed there without the cooperation of the local resident Muslims. There are, unfortunately, two parties who are at loggerheads, and they will even ruin the cause of Islam in order to satisfy their personal grudge against each other. So no missionary who goes there can please both parties, however sincere and honest he may be, on this point."

In the address at the opening ceremony of the beautiful little mosque at Kobe we read that "roughly estimated the total number of Islamic believers in the world probably hovers around 500,000,000" and that there are "40,000,000 in China alone." This hovers very far beyond the actual figures.

S. M. Zwemer.

CURRENT TOPICS

The University of Istanbul

The progress of education in a world of war and moral chaos is of deep interest. Bey Osman Okyar, former Turkish ambassador in London, writes in *The Asiatic Review* on the University of Istanbul:

"The University comprises the five following Faculties: Medicine, Law, Science, Economics and Literature. The foundation date of the University goes back to the 1840's at the time when a relatively new era of Westernization called the Tanzimate was coming to the forefront in Turkey. The reason why there were no Universities in the Western sense of the word in Turkey before that date was that teaching had been entirely monopolized by the Islamic religion, and was conducted entirely under the tyrannical force of religious ideas and prejudices in religious establishments called 'medresé.'

"As a first step towards the creation of a University, a Faculty of Medicine was inaugurated about that time. The other Faculties followed at long intervals, and the present structure was completed when the Faculty of Economics was included within the University, about fifteen years ago. Alongside this evolution there grew up quite independently from the main body of the University two important schools: the School of Engineering and the School of Architecture and Art.

"All the Faculties are grouped in one very large building, which is situated on the square of Beyazit, a central point of the town. The University buildings and gardens occupy a large precinct commanding a beautiful view over the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. The main building itself is no longer sufficient to accommodate the various laboratories, libraries, and lecture halls attached to the different Faculties. Also, in view of the growing number of students (approximately 8,500), a process of decentralization has started and new buildings are being erected.

"It must not be forgotten that students do not live at the University, and only go there to attend lectures and read. Consequently, the social life of the University is on a restricted scale, and a great number of the students never come into contact with one another at all.

"Most of the students take their recreation in their own circles and discussion and exchange of views take place mainly among friends.

"Our great meeting place is a delightful coffee-house, which is situated just beside the Mosque of Beyazit. There the students sit beneath the shade of secular plane trees and sip coffee or indulge in the popular game of backgammon."

Are Moslems Mohammedans?

At the World Congress of Faiths in London (1941) Sir Hassan Suhrawardy read a paper on Islam and deprecated the common use of the word Mohammedan for Moslems. This question is an old one and much can be said on it.

"*The religion preached by the Prophet Muhammad* has been called 'Muhammadanism' and its followers 'Muhammadans' as parallel terms to Christianity and Christians. These are misnomers. Its correct name is Islam, and the followers of the faith of Islam are called Muslims. The word 'Islam' means 'Absolute submission to the Will of God,' but this does not imply any idea of fatalism, any more than 'Thy Will be done' does to the Christian. In its ethical sense it signifies 'Striving after the Ideal (Righteousness).' 'Islam' is derived from a root word which also means 'peace.' The true Muslim submits to the Will of God and obeys His commandments, and lives at peace with mankind. The greeting of the Muslim is 'Assalamo-Aleikum,' which means 'Peace be unto you.'

"The term 'Muhammadanism' is also based on the misconception that Muslims worship Muhammad. The actual facts are that Muslims do not worship Muhammad, who, according to their religion, was a Prophet divinely inspired, but a mortal man."

All this is fine, but historically and in the Koran itself *Islam* signifies submission to Allah *and The Prophet. Ahl-al-Sunna* means the people who follow the teachings of Mohammed and in that sense he is the norm and ideal of all orthodox believers. The place he occupies in Islam is central and dominant. So it has been natural and correct to call his followers Mohammedans.

Broadcasting in Turkey

Broadcasting in Turkey dates from 1927. In that year the radio was gradually introduced into the country and a private company, the Turkish Wireless Co., registered in Istanbul, commenced operations.

Support from subscribers was meagre; only a very limited number of them applied for licenses in Stambul and its neighbourhood. On the other hand, there were many who used their wireless set without paying the necessary fee. Nevertheless, the company made splendid efforts to increase the number of its patrons by improving the quality of the programmes and by asking the help of the Government in its fight against listeners who had not paid their dues. It continued its operations for ten years.

Another company founded in Ankara by a group of financiers came into existence in 1933. But neither of the two companies had at its disposal adequate electric power, and their programmes were generally not audible beyond the city itself and its immediate surroundings. Moreover, the programmes did not come up to the

public expectation. So the Government, having regard to the growing importance of wireless, decided in 1936 to build at Etimesut, near Ankara, a powerful transmission station comprising one long and two short wave-lengths, as reserved for Turkey under the Lucerne scheme. The work was undertaken at once, and completed in a year.

The short-wave emission installations furnish daily six information bulletins in foreign languages—viz., Persian, Arabic, Greek, French, English, and Bulgarian.

In January, 1940, there were 73,329 receiving sets, in February 74,383, in April 79,038, and in May 80,554. Admittedly this is a small result when one considers the population of the country, but it is hoped that a more satisfactory level will be reached quickly, and with this in view the Government has just taken such steps as the lowering of the tax on wireless sets imported into Turkey and other facilities for purchasers of them. In the above calculations Stambul holds pride of place with 35,446 subscribers, then Ankara with 9,733, and Izmir with 5,052. Many villages have a receiving set placed in a public square, where the inhabitants listen attentively to the programmes, especially those items which have a particular interest for them. In short, the Turkish Government does what it can to provide facilities in every part of the national territory.

Hagia Sophia Mosque becomes Museum

Perhaps one of the most surprising acts of the amazing revolutionary Mustapha Kemal was his decree of December, 1934, whereby he announced that henceforth Hagia Sophia should cease to be a mosque and should be preserved as a museum and monument of Byzantine art. When the prayer rugs and the long strips of carpet in the nave were removed what remained of the fine marble pavement was disclosed: the eight huge circular plaques bearing the names of Allah, Mahomet, and the six great teachers of the Law, which had long been felt as a disturbing incongruity, similarly disappeared, and then on February 1, 1935, there took place the inauguration of Hagia Sophia as a museum.

At a time when in Europe the menace from the air is continuously threatening historic buildings with complete destruction any scientific record of great architectural monuments is of peculiar value and importance.

Emerson Howland Swift has written a historical monograph on the subject, entitled *Hagia Sophia* (Columbia University Press).

The Moslems of Poland

From 1386 to 1569 Lithuania was allied to Poland by a special union. Since then until the partition of Poland, the Lithuanian Tatars, most of whom are Moslems, constitute the major part of Islam in that part of the world. The total number may be 15,000 and one of the centers is Wilno. From an extensive article on "the Muslims in Poland (*Asiatic Review*, July, 1941) we quote some paragraphs:

"The Constitution of 1588 deprived the Tatars of the right of

having Christian serfs, forbade them to build or to repair mosques, and condemned to death Mussulmans convicted of proselytizing. The 1615 Constitution forbade them to marry Christian girls, and deprived them of the right of being commanded by their own chiefs. In 1620 their position became still worse because of the war between Poland and Turkey; the right of owning real estate was reduced within strict limits.

"These persecutions caused the emigration of Tatars into Crimea and Turkey, which were Poland's border countries at that period.

"Generous and tolerant by nature, the Polish people have done justice to the loyalty of the Tatars, and, little by little, successive constitutions have restored to the Tatars their old rights and privileges. The 1659 Constitution, although it was especially aimed at the dissenters compromised in the wars, recognized the loyalty of the Tatars and gave them back part of their former privileges.

"In spite of these persecutions the Tatars took advantage of every occasion to show their devotion to their new fatherland. Professor Talko-Hryncewicz, of Cracow University, who has written much concerning the Lithuanian Tatars, in his work *The Muslims* says: 'The fidelity of the Tatars to Poland amounted to heroism.'

"As the Lithuanian Tatars live chiefly in the region of Wilno, the Muftiate was established in that town, together with the head offices of the cultural organizations.

"The number of Lithuanian Tatars in Warsaw is relatively small; but there are many Mussulmans, composed of emigrants from Soviet Russia, Tatars of Crimea, of Kazan, and representatives of various tribes of Northern Caucasus; there are also many Mussulmans from beyond Europe: Persians, Turks, etc., who are for the most part tradesmen.

"At the commencement of the twentieth century there started another current of emigration, this time towards the United States of America, and increased to considerable proportions, for reasons not yet known. There is now in New York a Tatar colony of 500. The attachment of these emigrants to the religion and the traditions of their ancestors is so great that they have built a house of prayer, own a cemetery, and not only are in friendly relations with their Polish brethren, but largely contributed to the expenses for the repair of the mosques destroyed or damaged in the Great War.

"There were a few periodicals, and mention may be made of two: in Warsaw, the *Islamic Review,* published every three months, and, in Wilno, *Tatar Life,* a monthly review; the former concerned itself chiefly with Islam and the relations between Poland and the Muslim countries, whereas the latter dealt with local matters.

"But the chief manifestation of the cultural movement was the *Tatar Year-Book,* also published in Wilno. Such was the condition of affairs before the German invasion of Poland in the present War."

Origin of the term "Seven Seas"

The well known Oxford English Dictionary states boldly that "the Seven Seas are the Arctic, Antartic, North and South Atlantic,

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North and South Pacific and Indian oceans." But it gives no earlier reference than the 47th quatrain of the Rubaiyat by Fitzgerald. *The Geographical Journal* (Aug., 1941) points out that the phrase was not Omar's at all. "But the idea of counting the seas is common in Persian and Arabian geographers of earlier date. A passage from Mas'ūdi, who flourished about two centuries earlier, shows that the conception was even then somewhat confused: "As to the seas which are in the habitable part of this globe, their number is generally put at four; some however put it at five, others at six, and others again recognize up to seven; all these quite distinct from each other and without communication. We name first the sea of Abyssinia [the Indian Ocean], then the Mediterranean, then the sea Nitas [Sea of Azov], then the Sea Mayotis [Black Sea], then the sea of the Khazars [the Caspian], then finally the Ocean, of which the limits are not known, and which is also called the Green Sea, Stormy Sea, or Encompassing Sea." As Mas'ūdi goes on to say that the sea of Azov, the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean communicate with one another and should be considered one, he returns to his original idea of four. It may be noted that when treating of the Indian Ocean, he divides it into seven sections.

"Another Persian geographical work, the anonymous 'Regions of the world,' compiled in A.D. 982, is more definite on this point. After enumerating the seas it states: "These are the seven seas" ('Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,' ed. V. Minorsky, 1937, p. 53). Their names are the Green sea or Eastern ocean; the Western ocean; the Great sea [Indian Ocean]; the Rūm sea [Mediterranean]; sea of the Khazars [Caspian]; Sea of the Georgians [Black Sea]; and sea of Khwarazm [Sea of Aral].

"It is impossible here to endeavour to trace how the Persians came to attach a special significance to the number seven. De Saussure suggests (*Le Globe: Mémoires,* 1924) that it was derived from the "seven terms of the celestial universe" of Chinese cosmology, and that this influence is also to be traced in the Old Testament and the Apocalypse. These terms are the centre, that is, the throne of the supreme divinity, the sun and the moon, and the four cardinal points. He also points to another curious similarity: the Chinese associated the colour green with the east, red with the south, white with the west, and black with the north, and it is perhaps something more than a coincidence that the Turks and Persians called the southern ocean the Red sea, the Mediterranean the White sea, and the Euxine the Black sea. It will have been noted that Mas'ūdi in the above quotation refers to the surrounding Ocean as the Green sea, a term which might well have been attached to the Ocean east of China. It seems possible therefore that both the idea of four and of seven seas derives ultimately from Chinese cosmography."

Henry Martyn School of Islamics

One of the Indian institutions which the United Presbyterian Church helps support is the Henry Martyn School of Islamics, founded in Lahore 11 years ago for the study of Islam in order

that the gospel might be presented with understanding, sympathy, and purpose to the people of Islam. More recently the school has met in Landour where it helps the new missionaries become better equipped for their task. Several important books such as "The People of the Mosque" by the principal, the Rev. Mr. Bevan Jones, and "Sufism" by Mr. Subhan have been published. "Women in Islam," also by Mr. and Mrs. Bevan Jones, is just off the press.

A new chapter in the history of this school opened last year with its removal to the new permanent quarters in Aligarh, the seat of the great Muslim university in India. The retirement of Mr. Bevan Jones has resulted in the choice of Rev. Dwight M. Donaldson, Ph.D., as principal. Dr. Donaldson served under the Presbyterian mission in Meshed, Iran, for 30 years and is well-known as a scholar in Islamic studies, his book, "The Shi'ite Religion," being recognized as the standard work on the subject. He is also an associate editor of and frequent contributor to THE MOSLEM WORLD. It is interesting to note that he and other members of the staff have already received a kindly welcome from the authorities of the Muslim university, Aligarh.—*The United Presbyterian.*

Islam and Nazism

Ours is not and has never been a political magazine but the present world-conflict of ideologies does concern Islam as well as Christianity. What Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah therefore writes (Sept. 10, 1941) will interest all of our readers:

"Most of our Muslim people in the Near and Middle East see only unmitigated evil in Nazism. Their mentality and that of the Nazis are poles apart and they are well aware that if Germany should overwhelm their countries it would mean annihilation of their religious, political and economic life.

"One of the Koranic injunctions from which we have never departed in our long years of religious history is to honor our solemn pledges. The Nazi conception is that no engagements contracted with non-Nordic people are valid.

"We acknowledge the full right of ownership and property. The Germans do not regard the taking of another man's possessions as a crime.

"The whole conception of God as seen by Nazi Germany and by the Muslims of the East is in constant conflict. We believe in the absolute transcendency of Allah completely detached from all human element. Whereas Professor Ernst Bergmann says, 'He who belongs to the German religion is not a slave of God but the lord of the divine within him.'

"Closely allied to religious observance is the conception of law. Here again we differ beyond compromise from the Germans. Our legal system is based upon Shera or the Divine Law, as contained in the Koran and the Traditions of the Prophet Mohammed which have been interpreted by our Doctors of Law. Therefore it has a divine sanction. No State or Government or even the Commander of the Faithful is above it. Inasmuch as it is based upon democracy, the voice of the people is a commanding force in its execution.

"Nazi law, on the other hand, is not only man-made, but it is a law made by one man who is considered to be above it. The totalitarian philosophy believes that the State must come before the people. For this purpose it must have unlimited power and to operate effectively it must be free from all parliamentary check. Naturally, the State stands in need of leadership. That leadership is, therefore, accorded to Hitler in almost divine terms. Indeed such phases of omnipotence are attributed to him as we dare not assign even to our Prophet Mohammed.

"From the religious we come to the political aspect. There too, we find a deep gulf existing between the Nazi and the Oriental ideals of government. We are an essentially democratic people.

"The Islamic form of government must be based on an elective and representative form, and the Commander of the Faithful is regarded as the representative of the people in their collective and not in their individual capacity. He is responsible to the faithful for the conduct of the affairs of the State. He can be deposed, if he neglects his duties. He is bound to consult the wishes of those over whom he is elected to rule, assisted by an Advisory Council.

"He is subject to the law, which he can neither over-ride nor repeal any more than he is empowered to spend public funds without the consent of his subjects. There are no equivocal passages in Islamic principles regarding this aspect of Muslim government in the Near and the Middle East.

"We cannot accept the thesis of a Herrenvolk which would seek to destroy our ancient order of life, and reduce our Middle Eastern fellows to the lowest levels of slavery, more especially at a time when we are seeking by constitutional methods to ensure for ourselves new dispensations of government under proper safeguards, and to reach out to a fuller and larger life.

"Finally, under the threat of the German 'New Order' in the economic field, we are apprehensive of becoming mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, the role which Hitler is planning for the countries he has conquered in Europe. The application of it in the Middle East would not leave us even the semblance of our economic life.

"The Middle East is just beginning to find its soul and if the Axis powers were able to take over the administration of its countries, its progress, material and spiritual, would be retarded for centuries."

—*British Library of Information: New York City.*

Kazakstan: Nomads and Airplanes

In describing the U.S.S.R. behind the Ural Mountains, Anna Louise Strong draws this picture of Kazakstan (*Asia,* October, 1941):

Kazakstan, land of the nomad horsemen, was already boasting of its industrialization! My thoughts went back to the vast expanse of territory I had passed since leaving Moscow. Five days on a fast through train! On the second day we traversed the Volga Valley, and saw wheat fields by the tens of thousands of acres, the largest grain farms in the world. Fields of fresh sprouts swept

green to the horizon, followed by equal fields of black fallow land. On the second night, as the land grew steadily drier, we skirted the southern Urals and came to the old czar's fortress of Orenburg, gateway to Soviet Asia and Kazakstan.

Over the noisy crowds blared a noisier station radio, shouting out music and news. Orenburg station boasted a barber shop, a first-aid room, a Mothers' and Babies' Rest Room on the second floor. Its tiny drug shop was crammed with cold cream, tooth brushes, corn plasters, contraceptives, all jostled together and open to view. The near-by book stall offered thick tomes on "Road-Building," "Courses for Tractor-Drivers," "Technical Minimum for Railway Mechanics," "Tales of the Arctic," "The Young Naturalist," "Changes in the Constitution of the Communist Party," and *La Littérature Internationale* in French. This spiritual diet was more varied than the soup, meat and jello served in the palm-decorated dining-room. Outside the station, powdered coal was being loaded by gangs of women, while a man at the platform buffet was hewing loaves of bread in half with a big cleaver, to insert inch-thick slabs of heavy meat.

Twice in these endless lands I woke at night to see flames of factories, roaring of metal plants or oil refineries. Somewhere north of the Aral Sea, somewhere near Emba, a new Oil City blazed in the dark. I recalled that Emba is the greatest oil deposit in the world, supposedly undeveloped. Undeveloped? Who knows? I only know that I saw great buildings of an industrial city so new that it was listed neither in the railway time-table nor on the map. And I thought of Stalin's plan to build great self-sufficient areas behind the Urals, thousands of miles from the European frontier.

Alma Ata is the capital of one of these areas. In it centers the political, economic and cultural life of Kazakstan. In the ten years since the railroad reached it, it has grown from a town of 60,000 to a proud city of 260,000. It boasts of its new apartment houses, its parks, its new state opera and theater, its man-made lake for boating and swimming, made by damming the mountain streams. It boasts still more of its seven thousand university students in fourteen different faculties, preparing to furnish technical leadership for the growing life of Kazakstan.

This life has leaped at once from the nomad epoch to the airplane.

A Program for China

The Society of the Friends of the Moslems in China has published a program in their bulletin which is a challenge to other Mission lands and contains valuable suggestions. Elizabeth Pickens writes:

"The Society of Friends of the Moslems in China co-operates with all other missions, and is associated with the Fellowship of Faith for Moslems in England, the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems, the Fellowship of Faith in India.

"Become a member of the Society of the Friends of the Moslems —it will cost you only the subscription and a few minutes perusal of the Quarterly Newsletter, *Friend of Moslems,* though you may be drawn into the net and work for Moslems yourselves.

"Keep on hand or in reading rooms literature produced especially for Moslems, by experts such as Mr. G. K. Harris, Dr. M. H. Throop, and others. This can be obtained from the Religious Tract Society in Hankow.

"On furlough you can tell of the more than twenty million Moslems in China and recruit others to work for them.

"On your stations prevent trained specialists for Moslem evangelization from being side-tracked by other work. Seek out the mosques, the Moslem butcher, the curio dealer, the students and tell your Chinese Christians about them.

"At Mission headquarters make it your business to know all the missionaries who have heard the call to work amongst Moslems in China and urge that they be set aside for that work alone. Sometimes we have had to work hard to convert those set in authority above us to recognize this vital problem. Most of us here whose hearts have responded to the need of the Moslem have been side-tracked time and again by work which could have been done by others. At least 10 of the 18 provinces should have special workers. There are approximately 25 missionaries to Moslems in the whole of China. In the years that China has been opened to Christian Missions there have been less than a hundred converts from Islam. The Roman Catholic missionaries also hesitate to tackle this problem, and some of their missionaries in China have written to us for advice on methods and are using some of our literature.

"If you are in the work of training evangelists or pastors teach them the fundamentals of Islam as given in the *Primer on Islam* printed in Chinese and English. Have a course on Islamics in the seminaries in China, and have lectures given by some missionary, or converted Moslem, or even a Moslem, as they did in Canton a few years ago. The time is ripe to train Chinese Christians for this task.

"Make use of the radio to broadcast a message especially for Moslems. The Moslems themselves broadcast over several stations. Put the topic of the evangelization of the Moslem in your missionary Prayer List, as the China Inland Mission has done, and devote one meeting a year on the Missionary Association Programs. Start a monthly cottage prayer group to pray for Moslems in China, as friends have done in Chefoo."

An Offer to Students of Islam

We have on hand hundreds of copies of back numbers of THE MOSLEM WORLD quarterly. Professors of Missions who would like to utilize copies of these issues in the classroom may secure them in quantities of fifty copies or less of each issue offered by paying transportation charges. You are invited to write to the Secretary, at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The Baghdad Railway: Its New Rôle in the Middle East. Philip Willard Ireland. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July, 1941. pp. 329-339).

The importance of the railroad is now enhanced in British eyes, for on its possession depends control of the oil fields of Iran and Iraq.

Bombs Over Bible Lands. Frederick Simpich and W. R. Moore. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington. August, 1941. pp. 141-180).

Describes war conditions in Palestine, Syria and Iraq.

Broadcasting to the Near East. S. Hillelson. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July, 1941. pp. 340-348).

Increased radio facilities permit an ever widening field for British propaganda.

The Date of the Ṭāq i Kisrā. Otto Kurz. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. Part I, 1941. pp. 37-41).

Historical and literary allusions to a building of Sassanian times at Ctesiphon.

Islam and the Western Scholars. M. Y. Khan. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. May, 1941. pp. 182-187).

Begins a study of the contributions of various Christian writers for and against Islam.

The University of Istanbul. Bey Osman Okyar. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1941. pp. 526-528).

Describes the general structure of the institution.

II. ARABIA

WOMEN AND THE STATE ON THE EVE OF ISLAM. Nabia Abbott. (In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago. July, 1941. pp. 259-284).

Accounts of some of the daughters of Arabia in the time of Mahomet.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

ANCIENT INDIAN AND MEDIAEVAL MOSLEM HISTORY IN A NUTSHELL. Mahmood Brelvi. (In *The Muslim Review,* India. Vol. 19, No. 3. pp. 24-36).

Sketches the sources and important events.

A MUSLIM POLITICAL THINKER OF THE NINTH CENTURY, A.C.; IBNI ABI'R-RABĪ. H. K. Sherwani. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. April, 1941. pp. 143-156).

Outlines a work on the principles of politics and administration compiled by order of the Caliph Mu'tasim, son of Hārūnu'r Rashid.

THE MUSLIMS OF POLAND. C. Bohdanowicz. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1941. pp. 646-656).

An article on the Lithuanian Moslems who settled in northeast Poland as early as the 14th century.

PAKISTAN EXPLAINED. S. M. Fossil. (In *The Muslim Review,* India. Vol. 19, No. 3. pp. 15-24).

A study of the history of constitutional development in India, presenting Pakistan as the political goal of the Indian Muslims and as the only practical solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

THE WORLD RELIGIONS: THEIR CONTRASTS AND RESEMBLANCES. Al Hadj Sir Hassan Suhrawardy. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1941. pp. 616-627).

An examination of Islam.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

ISLAM—THE ONLY SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF WAR. Syed Mozaffaruddin Nadvi. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. May, 1941. pp. 164-168).

Intolerance, suspicion and greed are back of all the wars fought by Christians while Islam teaches tolerance, permits religious liberty and forbids wars of aggression.

ISLAMIC MYSTICISM. A. H. Amin Jung. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. April, 1941. pp. 229-234).

A discussion of "The Mujaddid's Conception of *Tawhid*" by Burham.

NOTES SUR LES MARABOUTS ET LES CONFRÉRIES RELIGIEUSES MUSULMANES DANS LA RÉGION DE SFAX. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Lyons. Deuxième Trimestre, 1941. pp. 95-110).

Historical material.

LA PRIÈRE PERSONELLE DU MUSULMAN D'APRÈS L'IHYÂ DE GHAZÂLI. A. d'Alverny. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Lyons. Deuxième Trimestre, 1941. pp. 87-94).

An account of pious phrases and petitions in use among Muslims.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE COPTIC CHURCH OF EGYPT. Estelle M. E. Blyth. (In *The Hibbert Journal,* London. July, 1941. pp. 398-407).

Includes a record of the church of Egypt after the Mohammedan conquest.

THE DRUZES. Estelle Blyth. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1941. pp. 582-588).

A summary of the origin, history and doctrines of this people.

MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE. M. Hamidullah. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. April, 1941. pp. 157-206).

Continuation of a study begun in the January, 1941, issue and dealing with public international law.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

BRITAIN AND ARAB NATIONALISM IN IRAQ. Ulrich Mayer. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. July, 1941. pp. 32-40).

Surveys the turbulent history of Iraq from 1918 to date.

BRITAIN'S DEBT TO KING FAROUK. Pierre Crabitès. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1941. pp. 852-860).

The young Egyptian ruler has gallantly lived up to his obligations in spite of pressure from Moslem extremists and Nazi-Fascist propaganda.

THE INDIAN NORTH-WEST FRONTIER UNDER MODERN POLITICAL CONDITIONS. A. H. Byrt. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July, 1941. pp. 270-294).

The British government should make a far-reaching, well financed, progressive plan to reward this section for its loyalty to England's war interests and to discourage the growth of Pakistan.

S. M. Riza Chah Pahlavi. Guy Marsac. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Lyons. Première Trimestre, 1941. pp. 111-117).

Tells of the rise to power of Iran's recently abdicated shah.

Syria, Palestine and Egypt. E. W. Polson Newman. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. July, 1941. pp. 7-12).

A defense of the occupation of Syria by the British and the Free French.

A Turkish Mission to Afghanistan, 1877. Dwight E. Lee. (In *The Journal of Modern History,* Chicago. September, 1941. pp. 335-356).

An episode of interest for the history of Pan-Islamism and British policy in the Near and Middle East.

The Vicious Circle in India. B. Shiva Rao. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1941. pp. 842-851).

Britain must show willingness to consider Dominion status for India as a post-war necessity if she hopes to secure a sustained, loyal war effort from the Moslem, Nationalist and other partisan groups.

Islam and the War. S. M. Zwemer. (In the *Religious Digest,* Grand Rapids, Michigan. October, 1941. pp. 1-9).

Tells of the attitude of Moslem states during the first World War, the attitude of Islam toward war in general, and the present confused situation in the Near East, where most of the rulers now appear to be pro-British.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

Cross Currents in the Sudan. W. L. Mills. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day,* London. July-August, 1941. pp. 243-245).

Mission work is at a critical stage of development due to the pressure toward Islam.

How I Was Saved. Chaudari Inayat Ullah. (In *The United Church Review,* Saharanpur. April, 1941. pp. 74-77).

An ex-missionary of the Qadiani Ahmadiyya community describes his conversion.